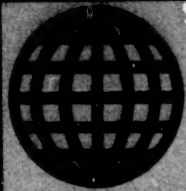


JPRS-EER-88-084  
4 NOVEMBER 1988



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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **East Europe**

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# East Europe

JPRS-EER-88-094

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**SOCIAL**

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**Need for Coordination of Research Stressed**  
24000002 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech  
5 Aug 88 p 1

[Article by J. Matyas: "Emphasis on Quality"]

[Text] Approximately 15,000 persons are currently employed in our basic research. The results of their work will determine to a considerable degree the future directions of our applied research and of our technical and technological development—in short, the whole structure of modern production. It is therefore imperative to define with systematic attention and concern not only the priority areas for the future development of science, but also the organization of relations, contacts and linkages between the laboratories of our scientific institutions, and our production practices.

The point of departure for the concept and orientation of all departments of our supreme research institution—the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences [CSAV]—is a document entitled "The Program for the Development and Application of Czechoslovak Science Within the CSAV (Slovak Academy of Sciences) During the Eighth 5-Year Plan and in the Period to Year 2000." What is the import of these materials for our basic research? Above all, it articulates the task to organize the scientific development so that the problem-solving potential may become a specifically defined mechanism in the set of means of our state scientific and technical policies. In the following years of the 5-year plan this program involved mainly radical acceleration of R&D and the creation of conditions and factors that may significantly enhance the socioeconomic restructuring of our society.

Our main effort at present is focused on the priority tasks of the CSAV, primarily on the solution of topics included in the "Comprehensive Program for R&D Progress in the CEMA Member Countries to Year 2000." The concentration of scientific capacities, of appropriate instrumental technology and of financial assets enabled our experts to score their first achievements. In the development of computer technology and program materials, they designed a new microprocessor structure for a 32-bit personal computer and developed an initial computer language and aids required for the establishment of a data base. Photoconductive fibers "extracted" in optoelectronic laboratories achieved world parameters. In cooperation with Soviet scientists our researchers analyzed the properties of technological lasers. A new Czechoslovak device using audio signals will improve safety in nuclear power plants. Laboratory experiments and groundwork for pilot plants advanced the planning for the production of new types of composite materials. In the sector of economically vital crops, alfalfa plants with higher resistance to one of the phytopathogens were developed for application of biotechnology in agriculture.

In the current 5-year plan our R&D base will be upgraded by more extensive and efficient interrelations of selected results of our basic research with R&D programs of our state and of both republics. Many untapped assets still exist in this area and it is obvious that thus far the necessary stride has not been made in breaking down the barriers between our basic and applied research. An indisputably positive factor which indicates a real turning point concerns selected tasks for technical development. They have a special method unencumbered by excessive "paperwork." The Academy is coordinating a total of 16 such tasks. The meaning and purpose of this whole endeavor is to realize within 3 to 5 years a number of material outputs "tailored" to a specific problem. Recent partial achievements include new technologies for the treatment of optical fibers to be used in telecommunication. In an all-out battle against cancer our scientists compiled an atlas of the occurrence of malignant tumors in Slovakia with data on the mortality rate for the past 10 years.

The achievements of our basic research cannot be applied promptly and efficiently without far-reaching contacts of our scientific institutes with individuals involved in the development, production and consumption spheres. The Academy has made, and continues to make, considerable strides to expand the cooperation of its research institutes with production enterprises. However, this cooperation must be mutually advantageous and offer financial and material benefits to both the realization sphere and the scientific institute. Only such mutual advantages can forge successful partnerships that will become the moving force not only for our production but also for our scientific development. For example, contractual cooperation with selected ministries was greatly expanded; state enterprises are expected to demonstrate increasing interest in scientific information. However, the Academy strives for a higher standard of quality. Therefore, it has signed "birth certificates" of scientific-production associations, joint laboratories and other workplaces connected with production.

Nevertheless, the scope of the development and practical application of science in our society still lags behind our objective needs. The bottomline problem concerns the achievement of a smooth flow of innovative incentives from our basic research to our production. In certain instances our scientists must get directly involved in the subsequent engineering and technological planning. This arrangement was found useful, for example, in the development of top-grade scientific instruments for modern research and precision products for industry or in small-scale production of high-purity special substances and materials for our industry, agriculture and health services. For precisely such cases the Academy is planning an organizational and economic program and especially a scientific-production association. The CSAV is aware that it is not easy to promptly and correctly assess and to efficiently use good opportunities, but by the same token, it realizes that its cooperation with the production



is one of essential criteria according to which the accomplishments of our academic institutes are evaluated and judged. Therefore, it intends to give priority to quality over quantity in this area as in other sectors of its operation.

9004/9604

**Dissident Analyzes Prospects for Reform**  
24000009 Rome LISTY in Czech No 5 Sep 88 pp 8-10

[Article by Milan Simecka: "Which Way Out of Normalization?" (Twenty Years After the Soviet Intervention in Czechoslovakia); LISTY, subtitled "A Periodical of the Czechoslovak Socialist Opposition," is an emigre publication edited in Rome, Italy. It appears six times a year and contains contributions by both emigre and dissident writers.]

[Text] I can envisage a prerequisite for a way out of normalization that truly makes sense:

The new Soviet leadership, which inherited the consequences of the immoral political behavior in 1968 from the much condemned Brezhnev, declares that the military suppression of the Czechoslovak attempt at reform and democratic socialism was wrong, that it was the result of imperialistic impulses, that it was contrary to the principles which should guide the relations among socialist countries, and that it was contrary to international law. It is not even necessary that such a proclamation be accompanied by an apology and a request for forgiveness addressed to the Czechoslovak people, even though just such an apology would be in accordance with the requirement for morality in politics, which Gorbachov never fails to mention in his speeches. Simultaneously with this proclamation, the protocol signed in Moscow, which became the basis for all the normalization steps and which thrust Czechoslovakia into economic stagnation, political inertia, and cultural desolation, would be declared null and void. The justification for it will be simple: the protocol was signed under duress. In our history there already was one agreement which was declared null and void from its very beginning, using the same justification: the Munich agreement of 1938. All these steps were taken without negotiations with the Czechoslovak leadership, only out of internal Soviet need, as are steps which are now made necessary by the present effort to purify the moral standing of the Soviet society, as are steps which are giving honor back to the Russian people. Moreover, all this will be an enormous contribution to the effort to gain trust in the European house and will be fully in accord with the words which we are lately hearing from Moscow. It will be a step so far-reaching, that it will be easy afterwards to scrap a further category of weapons. The Czechoslovak people will be so happy with such an act, they will forget that they should be asking for compensation.

But the vision, which I have so lightly sketched out here, and which perhaps even has its own logic, seems utopian even to myself. And that points out the kind of world we live in. The morality, on which I base my vision, is the morality of the natural world and not the morality of politics. Maybe within the life span of man this holds true: you wronged me, it hurt a lot, very well, apologize to me and I shall try to forget it. However, I am not totally skeptical, I believe that in the end some sophisticated formula will be found which will indicate that the so-called fraternal assistance was not exactly the most propitious solution of the alleged Czechoslovak crisis.

But even if some more down-to-earth version of this utopian vision were to be realized, it would not automatically guarantee that Czechoslovakia would join the Soviet Union on the road to "counterrevolution." I use this term because I do not have enough strength to overcome a feeling of malicious glee; it is clear to us: they are doing exactly what used to be called "counterrevolution" here. It is all paradoxical and even a little bit comical that it is the government of a country which so slavishly copied the Soviet political model, that today is taking advantage of the easing of relations between the big brother and his little brothers to persist in the concept of socialism which has been already denounced in the Soviet Union and which Gorbachov characterized as "the socialism of minima—minimum of material resources, minimum of justice, and minimum of democracy" (viz. the most recent address to media representatives). True, in Czechoslovakia we are not as badly off in material resources as they are in Poland, Russia or in Romania, but our people tend to look over to the western side of the fence when making comparisons, it is closer to them.<sup>1</sup> But we are worse off in everything else: twenty years of normalization devastated the economic, cultural, and above all: the moral character of the nation, and a new start on the same road is no longer imaginable.

And here we arrive at the root of the matter, at the happy-unhappy year 1968. In years past I often asked myself if the few months of euphoria brought about by freedom and the first indication of European interest was worth it. That is, was it worth the 20 years of normalization which from the point of view of the political, cultural and moral decline has no parallel in our history. Because of the irreparability of some of the consequences, the year 1968 may be a sharper turn in our history than was the year 1948. In 1948 monopolistic power was gained by the Communist Party which has had a clearly Stalinist orientation since the year 1929. This primordial Stalinism raced through Czechoslovakia with a fury comparable perhaps only to Hungary. It left a trail of the executed, the imprisoned, the silenced, the humiliated, and the exiled. Apart from that, it transformed within the span of a few years the entire economy, social structures, and old customs in such a way that a country with a totally different tradition began to resemble the Soviet Union like peas in a pod.

But the primordial current swept along with it also the greater part of the Czechoslovak intelligentsia, traditionally of a leftist leaning, many specialists and to some extent also intellectuals from the liberal circles; even some from the ranks of the ideological opponents of communism allowed themselves to be swept along in the hope that after the revolutionary destructive wave is spent, everything will go back on a more reasonable track. Illusions held sway and they obscured the future. It must not be forgotten that after the war Czechoslovakia was in an advantageous economic situation, it had full employment, and I can remember that the world of the Italian neorealist films elicited pity in this country. By the middle 1950's the worst witchhunts began to ease and it seemed that the hopes for more civil conditions were justified. By the end of the 1950's the developments gave hope to those generations whom the previous developments brought into countless conflicts of conscience. Another illusion arose, that everything can still be somehow corrected, it took hold also in some in the Party and administrative apparatus, and thus the originally purely Stalinist party arrived at the brink of restructuring, as it is called today. This first period lasted for 20 years, but at least for 10 years out of that the entire society worked secretly, semipublicly and publicly to make it possible for the Prague Spring to burst forth in 1968. To the Prague Spring contributed practically everything that was left from the democratic tradition, left-wing views of Western origin, and the better times of the prewar Republic. The rigid East European neighbors were terrified by it.

The postinvasion normalization thoroughly erased this last effort from the Czechoslovak life. It means that it also erased all hope for a socialism other than what was that socialism of minima. From the Party were expelled practically all those people who remembered the pre-Stalinist socialism, who had at least a secondhand knowledge of the prewar controversies about its form, who still studied Marx and maybe even Gramsci. Today nobody knows who Gramsci was. Already during the first years of normalization ideology became a mere apologia for what existed, all of it, including the entire historical lie; the entire past metamorphosed into an inexorable victorious campaign, even though at the head of the state stood a man who somehow by mistake sat in prison for 10 years. And he unveiled memorials to Gottwald who was the one who put him in prison. Such tasteless behavior did not occur in any of the East European countries. For the new generation, which was reaching adulthood at that time, it actually meant that they were through with socialism, because it was canonized in its most degenerate, Brezhnev-like form. Today, in the eyes of the people, socialism is an ideological label for the practices of a totalitarian state. According to my opinion, everything could function just as well on the basis of any other ideology, maybe on the basis of the ideology that today things are better than they were yesterday, and God willing tomorrow will be better than today, and that what the Party and the government does they do well, and that it is expedient not to meddle in it.

As a consequence of the normalization, Czechoslovakia today is in a totally different situation than other East European countries, the Soviet Union most of all. There, after all, even during the Brezhnev era, vestiges of some idea of the original humanistic goals of the revolution were preserved, which manifested itself in the constant coming back to Lenin and the debates of the 1920's. The generation which placed its hopes in Khrushchev suffered losses, to be sure, it fought battles of retreat, it left Russia and became cynical, but it was not completely liquidated as it was in Czechoslovakia. In our country, all were expelled from the Communist Party and public life who reacted to the Stalinist experience by searching for another face of socialism, all the economists who preferred pragmatic approaches to fanatical etatism, all those who tried to see reality in its true form and not in an ideological distortion. Those half a million party members who were expelled, that was not some random selection, in reality it was a rout of all the higher I.Q. That is why there are so many former Czechoslovak Communists at Western universities and research institutes. But in this pogrom we also have to include hundreds of thousands of nonparty men and women, scientists, writers, philosophers of Christian orientation, etc. More than 150,000 emigres represented a hemorrhage of the intellectual potential of the nation as well. Czechoslovakia during the time of the normalization ceased to have any intellectual ambitions, society sank into inertia, people lived in apathy, and given their distaste for programs, they will be once more taken in by politics as such. That is, it seems, the most despised human activity today.

The Party created for itself as well as for the nation a kind of artificial existence, artificial ideology, artificial culture, artificial public life. All that persists in artificial rituals devoid of any content. That is why today, when it is brought face to face with the unexpected turnaround in the Soviet Union, the Party has no conceptual or cadre alternative to normalization. It could only follow up on 1968, and that it cannot do. Thus the circle is closed. The attempts to at least verbally copy the Soviet call sound comical. I do not believe, as some people insist, that somewhere inside the apparatus a Czechoslovak Gorbachev is secretly preparing his role. Even if he were as cunning as can be, he would have been uncovered long ago and expelled from the Party. I do not place any great hopes even in the possibility that appropriated Soviet approaches in the end will in themselves lead to a turnaround. Normalization erected a barrier which grew with succeeding years and today appears to be insurmountable. It is not the ideological debris, all those stale phrases, that are most firmly built into the barrier, but above all the social status of those people to whom normalization brought prosperity, gave them privileges, exclusivity, and material well-being. And that does not concern only the top people in the political establishment and the so-called normalizers of the Czechoslovak culture. Most likely even a midlevel bureaucrat or even a decent intellectual in a good position asks himself before going to sleep if one of these days under excessive



glasnost someone will inquire of him when his star began to rise, how cleverly he lied, with whom he collaborated, whom he got into trouble, in whose place he is sitting, and why he was silent about injustices. All that will make things much more difficult.

Even so I consider it unimaginable that in the middle of Europe a Czechoslovakia behaving like Albania could last for a long time. If in the Soviet Union a revolutionary perestroika is actually pushed through, Czechoslovakia will not be able to resist. But who has enough moral right to address the nation regarding the future? I am afraid that the ruling Party has long ago overdrawn its account containing the last vestiges of trust. One can feel it everywhere, the people respond to the appropriated phrases with sneers and a flood of quite coarse jokes. It is obvious that after 20 years of normalization the moral right to formulate the way out belongs only to those people who did not succumb to opportunistic lies and endured the total social isolation to which they were subjected. In Czechoslovakia these people today represent a colorful spectrum, beginning perhaps with those who lived in bitterness and silent defiance, not giving an inch in the defense of the last moral stand, perhaps only in private, and ending with those who continued to mature intellectually, who actively fought against the decline of civic virtues, who openly voiced criticism, bore the main burden of persecution, who then regrouped and united in a number of civic initiatives and associations, of which Charter 77 is the best one known. In the thinking of this group of people, which naturally is not very numerous because it consists mostly of intellectuals, the way out of normalization was formulated a long time ago, and there is nothing to add to it. I only point out that the extent of the documents and memoranda is in excess of 1,000 pages of text, not even mentioning the hundreds of books which depict the state of Czechoslovak society.

Even more important is the fact that these groups of people, which joined together in true kinship by choice, are the only ones in this country who have pluralistic experience, experience with tolerance, experience with compromise, experience with respect toward different opinions, because they came together from all the living ideological bases and living traditions of Czechoslovak society, the left as well as the right. According to my judgment, the search for a way out of the normalization outside this pluralistic experience is doomed to failure from the start. I do not wish to go into the question as to what institutional form this plurality should take, I only know that it must not be based on fraud. The experiences of the last 40 years can be gone over from one end to another and argued about, but the main experience is beyond any discussion: that is, the arbitrary decisions of a limited group of people about the fate of the nation, without corrections, without social opposition, without competent advice, without a majority democratic mandate, etc., is in all cases destructive for the national community.

The sad thing is that Czechoslovakia, where elemental democratic thinking has been firmly established a long time ago, had to go through this experience. Democratic habits are easily lost, but difficult to gain back. Once the spider web of arrogant power is spun from the center to the borders of the country, nothing will break through it, every beneficial idea and every act of good will becomes entangled in it and perishes. That is an insight which no ideological sophistry can shake. Twice, always at 20 year intervals, we became entangled in this web. A way out which will not take this experience into account will become only a postponement of a bitter end.

#### Footnote

1. But in this country prevails a not unjustified suspicion that this relatively decent state of plentitude and relative sufficiency of everyday goods is not so much the result of a more sensible management by the Party and the state, but is rather a fruit of the traditional culture of work and inventiveness. The people in this country did not swallow whole every piece of nonsense which was directed from above, they always modified it a little to make it usable.

12605

### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

#### EINHEIT Summaries of Selected Articles in August 1988 Issue

23000011a East Berlin EINHEIT in German  
Vol 43, No 8, Aug 88 (signed to press 13 Jul 88)  
pp 674, 767

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Michael Benjamin, prorector for research in the GDR Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence, and Prof Dr Wolfgang Weichelt, director of the Institute for Political Theory and Law in the GDR Academy of Sciences and a member of that academy; pp 684-690]

[Text]

#### Our Socialist State Power—The Premise for Social Progress and Real Democracy

The socialist state is indispensable for establishing the new society, the alliance between the working class and the cooperative farmers and the other working people; the mainstay of political stability. Perfecting socialist democracy—the chief developmental thrust of our state and consequences for the activity of the people's representations, the relations between people's representation and the state apparatus, for the work of the deputies and state functionaries. The GDR—a constitutional socialist state, and text and reality of the constitution.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Horst Steeger, rector of the GDR Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence; pp 691-696]

**About State Management as an Indispensable Element, of Our Socialist Planned Economy**

About democratic centralism as the basic principle of our planned economy and its perfection. How is central state management and planning to be made more skillful; how is the unity of stability and flexibility of the reproduction process to be enforced in working with balance sheets? Step by step application of the principle of in-house production of means—consequences for management, planning, and effective accountancy and the growing autonomous liability of the combines and enterprises. On the role of the local state organs in enforcing the economic strategy.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Siegfried Petzold, director of the section for constitutional, economic, and administrative law in the GDR Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence; pp 697-702]

**Communal Policy—Mirror Image of Socialist Democracy**

It is shown how the SED's communal policy conception takes account of newly ripened requirements in good time and how the territorial resources are tapped for performance growth and public welfare. What requirements and consequences does this provide for the work of the people's representations? How do the citizens get involved in preparing, implementing, and controlling communal policy decisions? What characterizes the new level of socialist territorial communal efforts, and how important is the work of the mayors in this process?

[Summary of article by Dr Guenter Sarge, president of the GDR Supreme Court; pp 703-708]

**Legality and Humanism in Our Administration of Justice**

High legal security is a precious accomplishment of our socialist society, and expression of its humanistic nature. That also determines the constitutional mission of the administration of justice in the GDR. On what is the strict observance of socialist legality based in the activity of the courts and judges? What characterizes the humanism in our administration of criminal law? The citizens' broad participation in the implementation of justice as an expression of socialist democracy and of the genuine realization of human rights.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Joachim Boehm, deputy department chief in the ZK [Central Committee]; pp 709-714]

**On the International Conference on Nuclear-Weapons-Free Zones**

The composition and competence of the circle of participants, the choice of the actual topic, and the political organization and democratic structure of the conference ensured a comprehensive, equitable, frank, and business-like discussion of the most important problem in world politics. They discussed their partial steps toward a nuclear-weapons-free world and positive experiences and projects at hand. Consent was achieved about the need for disarmament and thrust instead of "nuclear deterrent." The worldwide effect of the coalition of reason and realism was strengthened further and the radiation of the socialist peace policy further enhanced.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolek, member of the SED CC, director of the SED CC's Central Institute for Socialist Business Management, chairman of the Economic Research Council, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, and member of the EINHEIT editorial board; and Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, member of the SED CC, rector of the SED CC's Social Sciences Academy, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and member of the EINHEIT editorial board; pp 715-722. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

**Social Politics and Political Economy**

The process of great transformations and reforms initiated by our party with its 8th party congress has been, is and remains a challenge to the work and efforts of the political economy in our country. Which basic positions did it elaborate for it, how has it contributed to providing the economic strategy with a scientific basis, to consistently continuing the course of integrated economic and social policies for the good of men? What new demands arise for it in carrying on this process creatively, especially for unfolding the advantages and impulses of socialism?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Klaus Gebauer, lecturer at the SED CC's Central Institute for Socialist Business Management; and Lothar Weise, graduate social scientist, party secretary in the VEB Plauener Spitze, enterprise in the VEB Deko Combine, Plauen; pp 723-728]

**Performance Requirement—Quality Labor**

The performance principle and quality labor undoubtedly are among the qualitative factors of economic growth with surpassing effects. The VEB Plauener Spitze has experiences on how both are to be applied in the intensification process, and they also are of importance to other enterprises and combines. For example, how does one permanently ensure high-grade work precisely by means of consistently using the performance principle, which in fact has turned the "Plauener Spitze" trademark into a synonym for "high-grade product from the GDR"?



[Summary of article by Dr Herbert Richter, chemist, member of the SED CC, general director of the VEB Fritz Selbmann Gas Combine Schwarze Pumpe; pp 729-733]

#### **Retraining To Cope With Key Technologies**

Developing new methods, modernizing the ones we have, and resolutely intensifying the whole reproduction process is the proper way to a higher economic effectiveness of science and technology, to top world standard achievements. How does the Fritz Selbmann Combine prepare the workers in time for coping with the key technologies? What new demands do the processes in scientific-technical progress raise for retraining? These and other questions all combines are facing today; for answering them, the fine experiences of the gas combine offer good clues.

[Summary of article by Dr Juergen Hofmann, lecturer, deputy director of the Institute for the History of the German Workers Movement in the SED CC's Social Sciences Academy; pp 734-742]

#### **On the Development of the Socialist German Nation in the GDR—Experiences and Perspectives**

The legacy of the revolutionary workers movement, to pave the way for the German nation to a peaceful and socialist future, became reality in our republic under SED leadership. The social foundations for the formation of the socialist German nation. The SED's struggle for preserving the unity of Germany and the destruction of the unity of the German nation by the imperialist split policy. Preserving peace and national responsibility. The realistic analysis of the national question by the 8th party congress. The SED program on the class character of the socialist German nation and its further development in the process of the shaping of the developed socialist society.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Heinz Kuehnrich, sector chief at the SED CC's Institute for Marxism-Leninism; pp 743-748]

#### **In the Struggle for Peace and Freedom**

The "Free Germany" National Committee, formed 45 years ago, was a high point and new starting point in the creative alliance policy of the KPD. That policy found its vivid embodiment in the "Free Germany" movement, which was not just confined to the POW's in the Soviet Union, but made an effective contribution to the struggle against war and fascism, as a historically generated militant alliance, mainly underground on Germany itself and in other countries. Founding the "Free Germany" National Committee lent new impulse to the entire German resistance movement and, above all, inspired the struggle against fascist dictatorship in the country itself.

5885/12223

#### **SED Congress, GDR Version of Reform Discussed**

23000011b East Berlin EINHEIT in German  
Vol 43, No 8, Aug 88 (signed to press 13 Jul 88)  
pp 715-722

[Article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziol, member of the SED CC and director of the SED CC's Central Institute for Socialist Business Management, and by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, member of the SED CC and rector of the SED CC's Academy for Social Sciences: "Social Politics and Political Economy"]

[Text] A vital and relevant theory that is creatively applied and constantly further developed is particularly important in a world filled with dynamics and new challenges and contradictions. That applies especially to the political economy of socialism as in our age, indeed, penetrating economic changes are taking place in the socialist countries. The broad application of the modern key technologies causes a revolutionary transformation of the productive forces, and we have to make intensive expanded reproduction prevail, comprehensively and permanently, as a new type of growth. New demands are therefore placed on the management and planning system and on the shaping of the socialist production relations. The socialist character of labor develops further, and the forms and content of labor, as of social relations on the whole, change fundamentally. The reform process initiated by the SED in the early 1970's is, especially in view of these conditions, neither a one-time, confined process, nor one that is concluded or could be concluded. Our party assumes that our dynamic social and economic development can be assured only if this reform process is resolutely continued through each new developmental phase. In this sense reforms, i.e., pervasive changes, are a fundamental condition, a characteristic of the shaping of the developed socialist society.

#### **A Process of Penetrating Changes**

This basic position of our party was affirmed especially by Comrade Erich Honecker: "All of the socialist states' experiences thus far have shown the construction of socialism to be a steady process of creative search for ever better ways to solve new tasks and problems. It is important, of course, for each country to react at the proper time and flexibly to the new challenges in accordance with national and international conditions. As to the GDR, the elaboration of our strategic concept for the further shaping of the developed socialist society was never regarded as complete. We rather assume this to be, as the SED Program puts it, a process of penetrating political, social and intellectual-cultural changes."<sup>1</sup>

This amounts, however, to no sort of pragmatic reaction to newly arising problems, challenges, difficulties, and contradictions. Rather, we are letting ourselves be guided by a clear social conception, by ideas constantly enriched by sound scientific and practical experiences of the socialist society and its dynamism, as formulated in the SED Program.

Western politicians and ideologues—eager to invent a contrast between the CPSU and the SED—meditate day after day about the GDR's reform capability. Normally they then maintain their antisocialist notions of reforms in our country. They want a change in socialism following their design. They can be sure they are not going to see such "reforms." We are intent on a reform process taking place within the scope of socialism, for the consolidation and upward development of socialist society. That is the sort of process of change we need and always engage in. Yesterday's solutions won't do today; those of today won't suffice tomorrow. We constantly have to check it out, keep what has stood up well and perfect it, and throw overboard what has not met its test. As the scientific-technical revolution of today leads to a revolutionary transformation of the productive forces in our country, that was possible only because socialist production relations and all other domains of public life have been—and are being—creatively further developed in good time for it. Resolutely carrying on the unity of economic and social policies is possible only if time and time again new economic and other social prerequisites are created for it. Ensuring this dynamism is an essential condition for political stability in the GDR. This stability on the dividing line of the two social systems and military alliances, in turn, is a crucial element for peace and security in the heart of Europe.

This dynamic change process is tied up with a high need for social science work and new theoretical data, so as to place practical politics on solid ground. The SED has always paid much attention to the work of the social scientists in the GDR in general, and to the economists in particular. And the GDR social scientists are very busy in making their proper contribution to shaping and enforcing the SED strategy. The political economy of socialism plays an exceedingly important role in this. As a management, planning, and effective accounting system conforming to the intensive expanded reproduction requirements can be created and systematically further developed only when the inevitabilities of this new type of growth are known. The dynamism and stability of our economic development attest to that emphatically.

The GDR's political economists have made important contributions toward elaborating and further developing the SED's economic strategy and are working actively on answering new questions. Theory and practice have been linked much more closely. The results of this work are not only the analyses, but they are tied up more and more closely with constructive ideas and practical recommendations. Theoretical positions that impede effective creative efforts were dismantled in this process.

This may be the point to remember: that in connection with the discussions about determining the social developmental phases, among the GDR's political economists prominence was given to the position that the political economy has to examine the production relations in

their inseparable connection with the productive forces and the social superstructure. Thereby, one got over the point of view that the political economy of socialism were concerned exclusively with the production relations, which implied underestimating the productive forces.

In connection with clarifying the question of the subject matter of the political economy, the way also was opened for the following insights:

- Through shaping the developed socialist society and the theoretical general rules from the practical experiences historically new prerequisites arise for the development of a modern political economy of socialism.
- One must get over any kind of underestimating the productivity in the political economy. Without properly integrating the productive forces, one cannot cope with the scientific-technical revolution and one cannot properly understand and put into practice such matters as trimming social expenditures, the relations between merchandise value, the value formation process and refining, and the nature of software and other matters. So one must always explore the productive forces and production relations in their dialectical unity.
- Increasing importance attaches to the interaction between the economic and the social strategy all-around.
- The political economy of socialism must be aimed at coping with the dynamics of social development, which also requires a stable, consistent development of the productive forces and of the management and planning system, and the further spread of socialist democracy.

Domestically, the socioeconomic conditions for a comprehensive effect of the socialist economic laws are established as based on socialism. Their actual effect, however, mainly depends on whether the correct socioeconomic strategy, effective economic organization and an efficient economic management and planning system, is found and brought to practical realization. A decisive element for it is the working people's deliberate involvement, the boosting of their social energies. After the triumph of the socialist production relations, the most important task simply is—as our party recognized and explained in time, transforming it into practical measures—to turn them into effective and decisive economic and social impulses. From that follow at least the following basic positions that must become the points of departure for the scientific work in the political economy of socialism in the GDR.

#### The Key Question for Socialist Development

Economic policy—as theoretical work altogether—is embedded in manifold relations with the conception of society. It creates decisive conditions for the functioning



of the economic laws and determines the goals, the tasks of the economic strategy, and the methods for its practical enforcement. The SED set down its strategic goal in its program: the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. This strategy, as formulated, is based on a precise assessment of the developmental stage of socialist society reached, of its essential traits, and the main trends of its future development. In the speech referred to, Comrade Erich Honecker underscored that we never consider such an assessment and the inferences drawn from it as final. Rather, it is important to enrich them and develop them further creatively through new experiences and insights.

The term "shaping of the developed socialist society" was chosen on purpose and has stood up well through big transformations in many socialist countries. By developed socialist society we do not mean some sort of ideal final stage that must be attained, but a society constantly in development. This term is meant to express the dynamic character of our socialist society. Lenin already pointed out that in the course of socialist development this dynamism would become still stronger. Our present age confirms this idea. "Shaping" is to mean that this process must be deliberate and according to plan, that no automatism or spontaneity can replace such deliberate shaping. So we understand the term shaping in the constructive sense as the social overall process which of course also includes transformations. The shaping of the developed socialist society means above all that the advantages, ideals and values of socialism, its social, humanistic character, must be made to prevail comprehensively, perceptible to anyone. That, of course, calls for an efficient economy and for rapid productive forces development.

We start with the conception of society, the social strategy because the nature of the economic strategy, and thus the basic orientation for the political economy, follow from it. Solutions are therefore needed that are aimed at the practical realization of the advantages and values of socialism.

The unity of economic and social policy, our party's chief battleground, thus also is a point of departure, condition and goal of all economic-political work. Seeking highest economic efficiency naturally is a decisive goal of our economic policy. But that cannot be detached from seeking improvements in our working people's working and living conditions. Scientific-technical progress must absolutely be linked to social progress and social security. A rising standard of living, social security, full employment, and so forth are essential traits of a modern political economy of socialism. The social goals are the point of departure and the target of the socialist economy.

As diverse experiences in the world of socialism demonstrate, this integration of economic with social policy is the actual key issue in socialist development. Wherever one failed to connect directly, temporarily or over a

longer time period, economic growth and scientific-technical progress with improvements in the working and living conditions, social contradictions, and conflicts would arise, which in turn led to manifestations of stagnation in the economy and society. As one found, the political stability was undermined thereby as well. The social targets and tasks are no "residuals" from the economy, they are its point of departure and target.

That also crucially decides that new answers provided in the political economy of socialism conform to the nature of socialism only when they promote the social, humanistic character of socialist society. That holds true for the targets of the reproduction process as for the ways and means of its enforcement. For our intensive expanded reproduction that practically means that three fundamental elements have to be connected with one another through the management and planning system in all its phases: rapid productive forces development (today principally through the development and application of the modern key technologies), the struggle for high economic efficiency, and a social progress that accords with socialism. Decisive is that these three elements are not coped with sequentially but are connected with one another from the beginning to the end, right from the initial idea for a technological change process. Fundamental inferences arise precisely from there for the political economy of socialism in the shaping of the developed socialist society.

#### **Fast Productive Forces' Development, Rapid Boosting of Labor Productivity**

Lenin's thesis that higher labor productivity is the most important thing for the triumph of socialism is—and remains—highly pertinent. Under the conditions of the further accelerating scientific-technical revolution and of the current and future confrontation between the two social systems this realization keeps gaining in importance. The labor productivity boost is the most important source of economic growth and, hence, prerequisite to the resolute implementation of the unity of economic and social policy.

The economic strategy resolutions of the 11th SED Congress looking forward to the year 2000 initiated a qualitatively new step in the struggle for higher labor productivity. The focal point in it is the broad and economically effective application of the modern key technologies. While between 1975 and 1983 economic labor productivity rose by 3.7 percent annually, it has risen by 4.5 percent per year since then. Since 1986, economic growth has come exclusively from increased labor productivity.

For the political economy of socialism the contributions toward coping with the dialectics of productive forces and production relations are of special weight. The revolutionary transformation of the productive forces in our land through a broad and economically effective

introduction of the modern key technologies, the comprehensive and permanent conversion to intensive expanded reproduction are of necessity tied in with essential changes in the socialist production relations. The idea with which our party proceeds from here is to make the needed changes in the production relations early enough, not to adapt them afterwards to new requirements. Precisely that makes sure that the socialist production relations conform to their function as an impetus for qualitative and quantitative economic growth.

Already when the SED started the effort of converting to extensive expanded reproduction it became clear that a new economic management and planning system was needed for it. Since the 1970's we have steadily been creating such a system that conforms with the intensive expanded reproduction requirements and the scientific-technical revolution. Forming the combines has been the decisive element in it. Everything necessary was resolutely done so that in the 1980's dynamic economic growth was assured and the unity of economic and social policy could go forward with all consequence.

This evidently was a reform process with far-reaching effects. The high dynamism in this socioeconomic development demands carrying this process on consistently and continually. That includes further combine development, a still closer linkage between science and production, and the constant improvement of the planning system as such. The agenda for the combines calls for transition to full self-financing, higher in-house liability in foreign trade, and the further development of the internal management system with respect to optimum flexibility. Among the central tasks is the further deepening of economic intensification and making this form of reproduction permanent. Since 1971 economic intensification has assumed an all-inclusive character, which leads to a new quality of economic growth.

The 11th SED Congress in 1986 found that one had succeeded by means of the economic strategy in making the change to comprehensive production intensification and introducing a pervasive production upgrading process. Intensification became the crucial source for economic growth. It is sustained more and more by the economic utilization of the most up-to-date technologies. Now we must make intensification prevail all-around and make it permanent.

This pertains not just to temporary goals, but to permanently and stably enforcing the type of socialist economic management that economizes on labor, resources and capital. Intensification demands increasing profits from economic activity at reduced expenditures in live and embodied labor. For that it is necessary to continue to use all growth sources, including the "reserves of the first resort," while eliminating all squandering. The new quality of economic growth needed, however, must be sustained primarily and increasingly by new quality technologies and products.

For that new material and intellectual potentials have in principle arisen in implementation of the 11th party congress resolutions, which are effectively being expanded. The full use of them is decisive—such as the roughly 80,200 computers the economy brought out through its own manufacture between 1986 and 1987, with 27,241 more of them in the first half of 1988, the total of 57,000 CAD/CAM terminals, and the intellectual potential of hundreds of thousands of retrained working people.

It is apparent that in the midst of the 5-Year Plan (1986-90) we have reached a crucial point. Our economy not only has great potentials that must effectively be used, it also has great possibilities to trim the expenditures in live and embodied labor. Energy and material investments can still be reduced significantly. Yet the use of these potentials is increasingly linked with the use of modern technologies, the broadest use of the most up-to-date computer techniques, and with modern control systems. Breakthrough to top achievements and their broad application are now on the agenda.

The political economy has to concentrate on some central matters relative to making intensive expanded reproduction, a new type of growth in principle, comprehensive and permanent. That includes, e.g., still closer links between science and production in all the phases of the reproduction process, a more efficient investment activity, quality guarantees throughout, and a more efficient use of the labor potential. One has to take into account that around 90 percent of the labor force now completed vocational training, more and more of them also taking part in advanced training.

Comprehensive intensification and the broad introduction of the modern key technologies demonstrably lead to new levels and forms of the division of labor and of economic relations. A highly flexible economy calls for maximum stability and reliability in the nexus of ancillary and end producers and all other connections. In other words: production socialization is making fast headway. Exploring this process and creating the appropriate forms of organization that would ensure managerial control over it has become an urgent task. The GDR's political economists are dealing with that, though always new requirements are generated, of course, demanding new research time and again. The political economists have included in their research the analysis of the forms of organization in socialist property, such as the combines, their enterprises, the LPG's and their cooperatives, the PGH's [artisan producer cooperatives], the economic units, that is, whereby they are picking up directly the Marx and Lenin doctrine of socialization and its effect on economic efficiency. The development of the forms of socialization led to resolving the contradiction between the productive forces development requirements and the lagging behind of the forms of the production relations.



The socialist power and production relations, the socialist ideology, and socialist internationalism form the foundations for the fraternal collaboration of the fraternal socialist countries within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and of CEMA. Especially for coping with the scientific-technical revolution socialist economic integration is gaining growing importance. It is a stable element of the shaping of the developed socialist society. From it derives, as an essential demand made on the political economy of socialism, the need to explore the objective processes connected with it of the internationalization of economic life on the basis of the socialization of labor and the development of the socialist production relations. It mainly is a matter of analyzing the fundamental connections between socialist economic integration and comprehensive intensification. With it, one has to bring out the chief criteria of the qualitatively new phase in the collaboration between the GDR and the USSR and the other member countries in the socialist community.

The enormous rate of development of the productive forces, the deepening of the worldwide division of labor, and the cooperation in solving the global problems of mankind demand consistently including the world economy as a whole and its linkages in the research in the field of the political economy of socialism. Of decisive importance here is the economic competition between the two social systems in its historic consequence. It also involves participating in solving the problems of the developing countries, supporting them in their struggle for enforcing a new international economic order. All this connects with the worldwide struggle to prevent nuclear war and create a nonviolent world.

#### **Spreading All Advantages and Impulses of Socialism**

The effect of the economic laws of socialism in the sense of the unity between economic and social policy and the implementation of the party's economic strategy primarily depend on the working people's energy, dedication, and ability in also resolving complicated issues. The advantages of socialism are no notions of abstraction, but the result of the working people's diligence and skills. The economic laws of socialism take effect only through being put into action.

The analysis and unfolding of the specific impulses of socialism therefore is one of the basic tasks of the political economy of socialism. It is important to make the fullest use there of the advantages of socialism.

Those advantages become manifest through a great number of concrete manifestations that are often taken for granted by now, such as all working people's democratic partnership in economic and social management and planning, the steady improvement in working and living conditions, the securing and gradual elevation of the material and cultural standard of living, the steady implementation of the housing construction program, job security and equal educational opportunities for all.

The SED's socioeconomic strategy relies on the comprehensive utilization of these basic advantages of socialism. They must become firm socialist value concepts relying on the working people's own experience and on purposive ideological work, so that they take effect as motives for action and activities in socialist society and its classes and strata, social groups, collectives, and individuals.

Social impulses entail the totality of factors and social relations in the real processes of public life that appear as the causes and action motives of the various social subjects. This includes primarily the dialectical contradictions in socialist society. Contradictions are the basic source and impulse for all development. It is an irrevocable advantage of socialism in this regard that the steady creation, consolidation, and development of the agreement of social, collective and individual interests amounts to the fundamental mode of motion of the qualitatively new contradictions in our society while it also is the way for using them consciously as impulses of socialism. An example for it can be seen in the growth of the material and intellectual needs and the party's struggle for ever better satisfying them by way of speeding up our scientific-technical progress and perfecting our management and planning.

The interests of the working people and of their various collectives, of the classes and strata and of all of socialist society occupy a special place within the total of the socialist impulses. Social manifestations become impulses when they present themselves as interests. Socialist competition, socialist democracy effective accountancy, management and planning, and incentives and the socialist performance principle are forms of that motion, resolving social contradictions and establishing conformity of interests. So they work as impulses for the working people's practical activities and a high developmental rate of production.

Special importance among all the impulses of socialism accrues to the socialist ideology, to ideological work. For one thing, socialist ideology is an impulse in that it makes interests known, explains objectives and purposes, forms motivation through insights, attitudes, and convictions, and fashions desirable ideals of the future that become effective as ideational impulses in practical conduct for the sake of socialism. That includes socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the certainty of the justice and victory of our struggle; it includes optimism, joie de vivre, and a clear party-minded stance toward the cause of socialism. On the other hand, ideology and ideological work are in all their forms a decisive condition for the conscious employment and use of the socialist advantages and impulses. Socialist society is the first society that must deliberately make the impulses of its own development take effect, where they do not take effect spontaneously. Reaching the comprehensive and full effect of the impulses is a basic task in the shaping of the developed socialist society.

The effective conditions of the economic laws of socialism include all those conditions that result from the

struggle between socialism and imperialism. The economy must ensure that in this struggle the material premises are created for shaping the socialist society as well as all the conditions for strengthening the international positions of socialism and expanding its international influence. This need affects the use of the national income and of the social reproduction process as a whole as it affects the impulses of socialist society in taking effect. It is logical and inevitable for the demands made on the leadership activity of the Marxist-Leninist to become all the greater, the higher the level of socialist society is and the more comprehensively the change processes relevant to the society of developed socialism are in fact taking place. For good reason one can therefore speak of the party's increasing role.

Millions of working people initiatives confirm that the course of integrated economic and social policies strictly pursued by our party encourages the working people's dedication because everybody can sense that his own diligence pays off for society and each and every one. He who most contributes to public wealth shall reap the biggest benefit from it. For all that, the working income is for all working people the main form of their material incentives and their most important source of income. At the same time it must, of course, be pointed out that the performance principle takes effect fully only if through adequate supplies and appropriate services living conditions are increasingly being improved. Good labor, good money and good merchandise all belong together.

Life demands that we constantly develop socialism further on its own premises through releasing the impulses that are germane to it. Through our party's economic strategy we have for it a cohesive, if not definitive, conception. For providing it with a scientific foundation, the political economy of socialism has done a great deal. It is called upon to encourage further socioeconomic progress in terms of what is needed for today and tomorrow.

#### Footnote

1. From the speech at the SED CC Secretariat conference with the kreis first secretaries, Dietz, Berlin, 1988, pp 15-16.

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**Recent, Prospective Plan Fulfillment Examined**  
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Vol 43, No 9, Sep 88 (signed to press  
8 Aug 88) pp 778-786

[Article by Werner Krolkowski, member of the SED CC Politburo, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers: "Substantially Accelerating Scientific-Technical Progress"]

[Text] The 11th SED Congress has confirmed the task of carrying on the policy as presented in our party program

for the good of the people and the preservation of peace. The basis for this policy is a high and stable economic growth performance relying principally on high scientific-technical results. As Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed in February this year before the first kreis secretaries, the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution are to be connected ever more effectively with the socialist advantages, the productive forces are to be developed fast, and economic growth at a new quality—growth on an intensive basis—is to be ensured comprehensively and over the long haul.

In the 1988 plan fulfillment, and in preparing for the 1989 economic plan, for which the ministries, central state organs, combines, and enterprises are doing intensive work right now, one finds again how necessary it is to accelerate scientific-technical progress substantially and make it take effect in the form of high economic and social results. For later years that is also very important.

Most decisive is the use and control over key technologies and a highly efficient production of internationally recognized top products in important fields. High and constantly increasing labor productivity is the salient point and decisive source for economic growth, declining costs, and a rising national income.

The tremendous process of technical change in the highly developed industrial states shows that the last word of modern science and technology is closely intertwined with the complex reproduction process which must lead, on an intensive foundation, to an ever more comprehensive upgrading of production and of this technical base and to top-notch product qualities and efficiency. Self-sacrificing operational efforts to ensure the planned work-day achievements in our economy must never—and through no one—lead to slowdown—let alone underrating—of the scientific-technical progress.

I. In implementation of the 11th SED Congress resolutions, the Council of Ministers and its organs bear a high responsibility for concentrating, with purpose and according to plan, the scientific-technical and economic potentials of our economy on the kind of priorities that conform to our socioeconomic requirements of today and tomorrow. Proceeding from there, the "chief natural science and technological trends and priorities between 1986 and 1990 and beyond up to the year 2000," issued by the SED CC Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers, aim at ensuring through creative achievements of international rank and their comprehensive economic utilization, that the GDR, closely collaborating with the USSR and the other CEMA countries, keeps up with the ongoing scientific-technical revolution and the dynamic productive forces development on the international scale and, with ever higher efficiency, asserts its place among the leading industrial nations in the world.

The state science and technology plan has adopted, in particular, those requirements and the complex collaboration for implementing them that aim at the development of new, economically significant products with



broad impact and at an important elevation of the materials and energy economy. The competent ministers and the other managers of state organs involved in the implementation of such state plan projects, the general directors, and the chiefs of research institutions bear a high personal responsibility for the fulfillment of these tasks. For implementing such state orders, the creative and reliable cooperation of R&D with investments and production introduction must be made ever more efficient in a uniform process.

In the efforts of the central state organs as well as the combines one finds that for implementing the planned economic results extraordinary importance attaches to a highly skilled elaboration of the scientific-technical and economic requirements, the safeguards for optimum international research data up to product and procedural maturity, the investments placed in this process and, finally, a secure start-up of production through permanent operations. That pertains as much to the elaboration and implementation of state science and technology plan projects as to the science and technology plans in the combines and enterprises. Of special economic importance, e.g., is the development and start-up production of the FMS 1000 automation project. This scientific-technical top project was worked out jointly between the Fritz Heckert machine tool combine and the Karl-Marx-Stadt Technical University and other combines. This flexible production systems facilitates labor productivity boosts between 300 and 600 percent. By reducing production time frames up to 90 percent, market demands can be satisfied in short order. Heavy physical work is done away with.

In all central state organs and in the combines further inferences are to be drawn for higher expertise in science and technology management and planning, so as to come up with more of a contribution to the implementation of the scientific-technical revolution.

A skillful placement of investments is of the greatest importance for the needed economic performance improvement as they, after all, affect, e.g., about two-thirds of the annual performance growth in industrial production that produces the major portion of the national income growth. The SED CC Politburo and the Council of Ministers in June 1988, through the qualification measures for management, planning and investment control, with a view to newly ripened requirements, have made important decisions to tap, particularly through investment concentration on a still more effective and comprehensive utilization of scientific, technical, and technological top achievements, new and important sources for a mighty increase in economic performance, productivity, and efficiency. As there is a state science and technology plan, there will now also be, starting in 1989, an state investment plan, reciprocally linked with the former, which raises state planning in this vital field higher in that, relying on appropriate construction and equipment inventories, world standard-controlling products and technologies will be

brought out faster and with improved economic benefits. Especially the cost/benefit ratio has to be improved generally in investments. An urgent requirement is to reap much more of a national income growth from outstanding scientific achievements through a higher efficiency in transferring them to production.

From their beginning until they go into regular production we must definitely engage in scientific tests of investments. To ensure the planned investment efficacy reliably, one must resolutely ensure an accurate calculation of costs and benefits throughout the phases of investment preparation, placement, and end computation. The investment capacity of the economy that goes beyond the investment state plan is to be placed under the combine general directors' own liability. That gets authorized in accordance with the justified economic demand and the economically and technically required proportionate development in the production base in the combine or branch.

II. State-owned combines will have to prove themselves still more than they already do as the crucial backbone of our economy in the time ahead of us. In many combines, among them the Werner Lamberz printing combine in Leipzig, the chemical plant construction combine in Leipzig-Grimma, and the Carl Zeiss Combine, Jena, worthwhile experiences, worthy of emulation, were gathered on how to achieve scientific-technical results of international top standards together with high productivity and use-value increases. Typical of the management activity in these and other combines is that they are fully cognizant of the users' needs and their tendencies and that they seek problem solutions that excel through technical originality and, especially, larger user benefits than the products used before. That constantly calls for a complete familiarity with what is going on among the competitors and for other inferences relative the combine's own development in major production lines. Also needed are systematic analyses of international patent policies and foreign trade studies on market trends, in order to keep up. An R&D strategy in these combines, conceived over the long run, which facilitates achieving top products and their reproduction on an always higher level, also is the point of departure and the target for an objectively concrete and creative collaboration with the institutions of the Academy of Sciences and the universities and colleges, with respect to both basic and, especially, applied research.

Our party pays great attention to the qualitatively new processes by the development of productive forces. The change brought about according to the plan in the production structure, has to do with the increase in microelectronic production, and the changes made in the product and technology level of the manufacturers and users of microelectronics brought important savings in material, time and labor and much more efficiency. Key technologies such as microelectronics, data and communication techniques, robot and sensor techniques, refining of coal and refinement chemistry and metallurgy and

biotechnology, must be made effectively so useful that their rate of spread and applicability for new products, procedures, and sectors are decisively enlarged.

Through close research cooperation as between the printing combine and Dresden Technical University, or between the machine tool combine and the Karl-Marx-Stadt Technical University, basic software was developed for CAD systems in special circuit design and CAD/CAM solutions for machine tool design. A research cooperation of the machine tool combine and the farm machine combine with the central institute for solid-state physics and materials science in the GDR Academy of Sciences has created the basic procedures for the application of the electron ray and laser techniques for surface hardening and refining of heavily used metal surfaces and the hardening of polymers. The high achievements in these and other areas suggests that to improve the efficacy of research cooperation based on joint long-term strategies those scientific-technical problems have to be determined with certainty and be processed resolutely that facilitate the breakthrough in decisive key technology fields as rapidly as possible. It is important to keep up with the internationally increasingly faster rate and even to control that rate in some important areas. That calls absolutely for target-directed basic research, without which no scientific lead can be ensured. The complex task of reaching top positions has to be worked out and implemented under the requisite aspect of the world in the 1990's. Economics must always be the alpha and omega of scientific work in the economy. Expert uniform management and planning of research projects must at each phase of the work be intent on ensuring the planned economic benefit and, if possible, on augmenting it.

Entirely in this sense, through a joint research strategy for efficiency electronics, as between the VEB Karl Liebknecht microelectronics, Stahnsdorf, and the central institute for electron physics in the Academy of Sciences, the process of components development for Schottky diodes, starting from a targeted basic research through working out the production technology, was uniformly planned and directed. Already the starting phase of production in 1987 grossed the enterprise a direct profit of M 400,000, which this year is expected to rise to more than M21 million. The important scientific-technical results of recent years in the development and application of microelectronics, in the comprehensive use of computer techniques and data processing, and in the development of CAD/CAM technology are the outcome of research cooperation in practice that is proving itself completely.

This cooperation must be further developed qualitatively in the combines and science institutions, and its impact on the economy is to be heightened. This is what the experiences garnered so far tell us: joint research cooperation efforts are more still to be directed at the kind of top-notch

data that lead to basic innovations in the economy, represent the international top standards when they hit the market, and can be used with economic benefit.

The formation and structuring of stable relations on a contractual basis as between the combines and the institutions of the Academy of Sciences and the GDR universities and colleges are intent upon the goal of connecting science with production with better results in that they will interpenetrate each other. Relying on their own science and research potentials in the combines, the research cooperation efforts more and more emphatically go for the implementation of economically significant R&D tasks. Industrial research is becoming more complex, its efficiency is becoming greater.

Through fulfilling the agreed upon research tasks, the scientific lead is further expanded as the decisive premise for production upgrading and for implementing intensification. The research cooperation of the Carl Zeiss, Jena and the microelectronics combines with 10 Academy institutes and 13 universities and colleges may stand here as one working outcome of many. This created the premises for the design—used throughout—of highly integrated microelectronic circuits and a new generation of light wave conductors and optoelectronic components, including the development of measuring and testing techniques, special technological equipment, and special materials.

The science cooperation balance sheet at hand already shows noteworthy results, but greater opportunities still have to be used. By the end of 1987 the Academy of Sciences and the universities and colleges had signed a total of 320 coordination contracts and 2,850 performance contracts with 130 industrial and construction combines. Half of the R&D potential of the Academy of Sciences and of the ministry for university and technical school affairs thus became linked with the combines through business contracts. All told, that embraces the labor of 12,000 scientists and other specialists. More than two-thirds of them are concentrated on the speedy development and broad use of the key technologies, such as the comprehensive application of microelectronics and optoelectronics, computer techniques, CAD/CAM technology, flexible automation and computer-aided production throughout, as well as the development of gene, cellular and immunotechnology, and new work materials.

III. It is characteristic of the economic strategy that the key technologies in their development and application are always regarded as means to an end, never as an end in itself. Their introduction and mastery always connects with the idea:

- to boost productivity in industry and construction, agriculture, and all other economic sectors significantly;
- to expand the material-technical base of the economy, lend strong impulses, particularly, to automation, and ensure the energy and materials base;



- to make our refinement strategy effective and highly profitable, elevate the qualitative level throughout, attain top standards, bring out goods at world standards, and make the cost/benefit ratio much more favorable;
- to strengthen the economy's export capacity and broaden the supplies in attractive consumer goods and elevate further the level of services, public health, and environmental protection.

Whichever of these tasks are illuminated by way of what has already been achieved—the effects of the key technologies, the advances already made—cannot be ignored. By accomplishing 60 automation projects in the metal-processing industry and another 35 in other economic sectors up to 1990, we have turned to the task—as the 11th SED Congress resolved—to create the transition to a modern automated production in important sectors via various levels in a creative process of the present and future. This of course involves fundamental changes in the level of technology and organization and providing an optimum measure for the labor economy.

Recently the Council of Ministers dealt with the status arrived at in the implementation of the automation projects decided on, paid tribute to outstanding results in accord with the 11th party congress criteria and, proceeding from these progressive experiences and from the overall analysis at hand, focused on attaining improvements of the economic results through raising the scientific-technical level of design and technological preparation, guarantees for the material-technical prerequisites, more efficient investment activity, and a still stronger alignment of the combines' rationalization means construction with these tasks. The large material and financial funds needed for such projects must effect an increase in the distributable national income in short order and must be gaged against highest efficiency and labor quality, this already during the process of project planning, all the more so while being implemented and without any diminution when operations start.

Roadsigns for the flexible automation of entire production areas in terms of the most up-to-date demands are set through such projects as the automated mounting of conductor plates including the application of CAD/CAM in the Nordhausen VEB telecommunications plant. Within 1 and ½ years the output of conductor plates was boosted significantly without any extra labor. Labor productivity went up threefold. With it, prime costs fell by 8.2 percent. Through an investment return of barely three-quarters of a year an exceptionally important contribution is being made in terms of a high reproduction process economy.

The automation of the prismatic large part manufacture in the VEB machine tool factory Union Gera has a lot to do with establishing this world standard. A 13-percent

prime cost reduction, a ninefold increase in labor productivity, a release of labor for different jobs, and a time capacity operation of the entire system of 19 hours per calendar day define these chances for automation.

The reconstruction and rationalization of existing plants are equal in rank to the modernization of the technical base. Science institutions should address that task still more, together with the scientific-technical resources of the combines and their rationalization means production. Extant machinery and installations should be resolutely modernized through the use of microelectronics and the new production control potentials based on it, so the available resources will be used with higher economic effect.

The questions, as Comrade Erich Honecker put it in his speech before the Kreis first secretaries, "which govern the economic results of today as much as the prospects of a combine, must not be resolved parochially. Therefore, production upgrading, top scientific-technical and economic tasks in the tasking workbooks and extension passbooks belong on top of the agenda for the general directors and enterprise managers!" In planning and carrying out scientific-technical tasks, the tasking workbooks and extension passbooks have stood up well as important managerial tools the general director has.

The output of newly developed products came to M 9.1 billion more in 1987 than in the year before and, with a total of M 118.2 billion, exceeded the plan targets by 6.6 percent. The export proportion of these products rose in all ministerial areas. Nearly 75 percent of the combines had lower costs in new production, relative to overall production. For the first time in 1987, with M 12.5 billion, new production obtained a share of profit larger than the retooling degree. Proceeding from the practical experiences thus far, further upgrading efforts in their entirety have to be aimed with still greater resolve at highest efficiency. That concerns mainly further reducing the transfer time frames for scientific-technical data and ensuring the highest number of units produced in new products in accordance with the economic demands.

The assignment of strategic task forces under the general director has been a good idea; they are staffed by representatives, especially, of the sectors of economics, R&D, basic assets management, production, and sales; they coordinate the upgrading preparations in the combine. Delegating the management of the upgrading process to R&D and limiting the liability of other specialized areas in the combine so that all they get are ancillary functions blocks development. Nor must one tolerate the tendency of merely formal, ostensible upgrading. Products that show no noteworthy innovative character and can be produced without any noticeable gain in effectiveness may not be recognized as upgraded products. In any case, production upgrading has to be demonstrated by way of sound and internationally comparable scientific-technical developments.

Among the crucial criteria of modern production doubtless is the quality as a point of crystallization for science and productive force accomplished. The quality is a decisive factor for an optimum economic utilization of advanced science and technology. That is true of the means of production as of consumer goods. The economic "quality" category gets exemplary treatment in the Meissen VEB turbo works recognized as an "enterprise of outstanding quality labor" for the last 15 years. This enterprise has had no complaints about its export items for 10 years and has doubled its "Q" production load within 4 years. This enterprise closely links technological research with product development. Its socialist competition is aimed at the unity between quantity and quality with a complete plan fulfillment that can be demonstrated for the last 17 years. Most of the work collectives are engaged in quality circle production.

As quality guarantee instruments in R&D, quality guarantee programs, quality guarantee plans for each developmental task, the elaboration of quality norms for partial solutions, and the formation of testing groups have stood up well in combines and enterprises. The performance of quality production must be enhanced still faster. The primary conclusion from the exemplary work of combines and enterprises is this: quality gaged against top standards is decided in R&D and through technology up to 70 percent and more. Quality insurance must therefore be brought forward—in much greater measure—in all undertakings of these production phases. Stressing this point of view does not preempt the great responsibility of guaranteeing top qualities at every other job in the production process as well. That is implied by the higher place value of production and its rationalization with respect to technologically shoring up high quality production. The increasing speeds in labor, the miniaturization processes and high demands made on precision in parts manufacturing call for developing and operating measurement, control, and regulatory techniques in conformity with specific production requirements. That must mark still more than it has done the rationalization conceptions in the combines and enterprises. Coping with this process demands a politically and technically committed scientist and engineer, a creative atmosphere in the work collectives, and steady encouragement for these collectives and the exceptionally able inventors and innovators.

The fusion of science with production must not be regarded merely as a technical-organizational task, but it mainly also is a task of political leadership, of motivating people who confidently and creatively work together in transforming their highest skills into top economic efficiency. Thereby especially important scientific-technical achievements came out of the chemical plant construction combines in recent years.

Encouraging creativeness in R&D means, in particular, placing trust in young people and charging them with responsibility. Young university and college graduates with modern know-how must without delay be con-

fronted with complicated requirements in product and technology development. This above all pertains to tasks referring to scientific virgin territory and inventions that stand up to international competition. A top concern in the efforts of the FDJ youth research collectives is to foster management activity, imagination, endurance, tenacity, courage and risk readiness and turn to new, revolutionizing ways in R&D. It must be brought about rigorously that the FDJ youth research collective requirements focus on top achievements, i.e., principally surpass what is already internationally established.

IV. For mastering high-tech and hastening scientific-technical progress in all the fields that are decisive for productive forces development, an objective requirement is the further development of an optimum division of labor collaboration between the GDR and the USSR, among the CEMA member countries, in science, techniques, and technology, to reap maximal economic results.

In this year's speech before the kreis first secretaries Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed that the scientific-technical cooperation with the USSR occupied a central spot in the steps taken toward the further implementation of our economic strategy. Precisely through the fruitful collaboration with the USSR and the other CEMA member countries we have to thrust into lead positions with an economically optimum key technology application. Here the potentials are still far from exhausted. The joint use of a selected science and production potential of the countries in the socialist community, planned accurately, rigidly organized, and focused on top efficiency and qualities, and a higher creative contribution to it from each partner are among the most significant tasks for the present and future to steadily improve the historic mission of socialism.

Through the comprehensive CEMA program for scientific-technical progress, the GDR-USSR program on the development of cooperation in science, technology, and production up to the year 2000, the agreements in the industrial sectors, and the 120 direct cooperation accords between GDR and USSR combines, associations and enterprises, viable political prerequisites were created to implement measures for economic and scientific-technical cooperation that consistently represent international top standards.

The topics of this kind of cooperation were put out within the science and technology state plan and the plans of the science institutions and combines. In 1986 and 1987 the GDR put into production about 150 developmental results that came out of this cooperation and represent international top standards. Just a few facts may illustrate that:

- Within the framework of the comprehensive CEMA program for scientific-technical progress, in the field of the electronization of the economy of the GDR and of the USSR, through coordinated division of labor processes, the technological premises are to be laid for producing highly integrated storage circuits. For the



fabrication of the 256-kilobit storage circuit, which is being readied for mass production, the GDR has developed eight parts of the special technological equipment needed. The USSR in turn is developing and manufacturing 13 parts of such special equipment. The GDR, whose contribution is being highly appreciated by the Soviet Union, mainly contributes to the streamlined technological circuit production process methods and equipment of photolithography and coating techniques, such as the automated cover repeater AUR, the fault control device DKG 160, and the high coating device HBS 80/100.

The USSR supplies the technological process with very important special chemical-physical procedures and equipment like implantation equipment and plasma corrosion equipment and equipment for the mechanical treatment of silicon disks. Involved in this cooperation mainly are the Carl Zeiss Jena Combine, Microelectronics, Erfurt, and the science institutions in the sector of the USSR Ministry of Electronics Industry. The cooperation commits all partners involved of course strictly to abide by the contractual accords on mutual deliveries.

- In the outcome of the direct relations between the Agricultural Progress Combine in Neustadt and the production association Gomselmash in Gomel came the division of labor type development and standardization of components for the new field chopping machine series of a 146 and 180 kW capacity, which in its major parameters conforms to top world standards. The basis for this development was a technical project worked out by the partner enterprises in the GDR and USSR that ensures the matching and interchangeability of all the components produced in the GDR and the USSR like window hay loaders, corn cutters, and field crop cutters for the base aggregate of the new field chopping machine. Compared with the preceding product, the field chopping machine 125KW, field chopping machine 146KW increases the overall performance in the full plant harvest for corn to 124 percent, reduces ground pressure by 25 percent, fuel consumption by roughly 10 percent, ensures an electronic and constantly operating volume measuring control procedure, improves foreign body spotting, and reduces vibration and noise interference for the one who drives the machine.

Tasks to improve reliability while paying attention to diverse operational conditions were solved through the development of the new field chopper E282. Mass production has started in the GDR and the USSR relying on uniform technical documentation.

- Based on a government accord with the USSR, Communication Electronics Combine Berlin, in a division of labor type cooperation with institutions of the USSR Ministry of Communications Equipment Industry, laid the prerequisites for the production of optical wave guide communications transmission tracts with transmission velocities of 8 megabits per

second. The first transmission line was set up in Kishinev in the Moldavian SSR and is being tested at this time. The GDR developed and delivered cable production equipment and transmission and reception elements and components. The USSR took on the building of the transmission tract and the testing. That was the first step toward a broader use of this fund-saving transmission technique.

What matters in all these results of fruitful collaboration, of course, is to get up to such numbers of items in the manufacturing process that it will reliably cover the demands of the countries involved and open new chances for beneficial activity on the world markets. To that end, top quality criteria have to be reached consistently in the manufacture and an optimum economic utilization of the goods has to be ensured on that basis. For a profitable cooperation it is important that all partners involved participate in the economic results in accordance with their portion of performance in it, whereby then also the continuation and deepening of such creative collaboration will benefit.

The experiences gathered in long years of direct collaboration between the partners of the GDR and the USSR, such as between the Magdeburg Karl Marx Armature Combine and the Penzmashpromarmatura production association in Penza, between the VEB Walter Ulbricht Leuna Works and the Polymir production association in Novopolotsk, or between the Carl Zeiss Jena Combine and the scientific production association Burevestnik in Leningrad, deserve to be thoroughly exploited under the aspects mentioned here and to be used in the management, planning, and organization of international research and production cooperation in all combines and science institutions concerned.

From the peaceful contest between the social systems there arises, objectively, the task for us to provide more and more strongly, in the race against time, through our own high achievements and in concert with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, the proof for the superiority of socialism.

#### Footnote

1. From the speech at the SED CC Secretariat conference with the kreis first secretaries, Dietz, Berlin, p 28.

05885/7310

## HUNGARY

### German Wish for Cooperation, Empathy With Hungarian Reforms Expressed

23000019 Bonn DIE WELT in German 14 Sep 88 p 6

[Article by Carl G. Stroehm: "The Utmost Understanding Among Germans"]

[Text] On the Budapest "Freedom Bridge," which once was called "Franz-Josef Bridge" after the Hungarian

king and Austrian emperor, the restorers have now lovingly restored the old country and empire coat of arms and St Stephen's crown, together with the Apostolic cross of Lorraine and the emblems of the territories that had once been Hungarian but now are lost: Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia. It was only a few years ago that the royal coat of arms was regarded as taboo, even as reactionary. Now the people's republic seems to remember the old emblems and symbols. Now Hungary starts to find its way back to its history. In center of the city of Budapest the old historical street signs have been put up again. On the approach to the Elisabeth Bridge a monument of Queen Elisabeth that had been dismantled after the war was restored—the wife of Franz Josef and Wittelsbach princess by birth of whom it was said that she had a special place in her heart for her Hungarian subjects.

The restoration of history has a special effect and importance on Hungary because the Magyars are a people with a decidedly historical orientation. That may be related to the geographic position and the fate of this nation which ethnically and linguistically is not related to any one of its neighbors and which has always been too big to be satisfied with the role of a small state—and numerically is not big and strong enough to enable it to prevail at the decisive moment.

"Since the battle on the Lechfeld [the region between the Lech and Wertach rivers] when the Germans defeated us we Hungarians always had to look for an accommodation with more powerful foreign forces—from the 10th to the 20th century, from Hapsburg to the Soviets." These are the words used by a Budapest intellectual to describe the situation of his people of which even the national poet Petofi complained that it stands "all alone" in the world. The so impressive and beautiful backdrop of Budapest—even though upon closer examination the structures exhibit relatively few architectural treasures—then the neo-Gothic parliament and Pest's architecture, kept in boulevard style, reveal that Hungary at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century regarded itself as a power and as an equal partner of the Austrian half of the empire in the Dual Monarchy. A certain imperial claim becomes evident in these edifices.

#### Affinity With the Magyars

In two world wars, both of which were conducted and lost on the side of Germany, these dreams were shattered. What remained was a decimated country. The Hungarian losses of territory as a result of the borders established by the Treaty of Trianon in 1920—and which are still valid now—are tremendous. Compared with the provinces of the St Stephen's crown, as they existed up to 1918, present day Hungary is a truncated state. Some 2.5 million Hungarians live under Romanian sovereignty in Transylvania and the Banat, over half a million in Slovakia, 400,000 in Yugoslavia, about 200,000 in the Carpatho-Ukraine taken over by the Soviet Union.

In spite of the two failures of "brotherhood in arms," there are no reservations concerning the Germans among the Hungarians. On the contrary: there is sympathy. There is hardly any country in Europe where German travelers receive such friendly and unprejudiced reception and treatment. The secret why so many German tourists (from the FRG and the "GDR," in the meantime the former have been in the majority) feel so comfortable in Hungary—even though the country has little to offer as regards dramatic scenery and nothing as regards southern seacoasts—lies in this fact. The Germans—even though they may know little about politics and history—feel a certain affinity with the Hungarians. And even in matters where the Hungarians may feel alien and almost exotic to them, the Hungarian lifestyle exerts a certain, it could almost be called exotic, fascination. The Hungarians are a people of noblemen and horsemen—and, Bismarck once said, every Hungarian is a mixture of a jurist and a hussar. Of course, this is a cliché as all generalizations are—but especially if recent history is considered, this characterization is not entirely wrong.

A Hungarian, according to a somewhat nastily sounding saying, is a man who enters a revolving door behind you—and comes out the revolving door ahead of you. That characterizes the ability to cope with life, adaptability, intelligence, and pragmatism of the Magyars. Different from some other nations—even in their immediate vicinity which we do not want to mention for the sake of politeness—the Hungarians have the practical sense to cope with the world even under adverse circumstances. They have proved that especially after World War II when the nation acted as "hussar"—namely in the necessarily futile attempt to cast off by force a system regarded as alien and inhuman by an uprising. This was followed by an intervention of the Soviet superpower using thousands of tanks. Then when 200,000 people left the country as refugees and nobody in the world gave the Hungarians a chance for the foreseeable future, there followed a slow but steady reconstruction and accommodation—until sometime in the seventies Hungary once again became a positive term. Even the Hungarian communists showed a certain ability for adaptation, accommodation, and realism—and what is even more important they succeeded in convincing the Soviet superpower and lead power that the Hungarians should have the right—even though within certain limits—to find their own salvation.

#### The Reformers Were Borne Out by the Development

To view present day Hungary in such a positive light does not mean to underestimate the serious, in some respect onerous problems facing the country. Here, too, it has become evident—even though the Hungarian communists had started their reform thinking as early as 1968 (at a time when reforms were brutally choked off elsewhere in the East Bloc)—that the socialist-communist economic system is not competitive. The Hungarian economy in some respect now looks bad—its per capita



foreign indebtedness is even greater than in Poland, the "old smokestack industry" of the country on which the postwar communists were so hell-bent, feeds on the substance and becomes an impediment and a bottomless pit. An egalitarian wage system taken over from Stalin thus far has been a disincentive to performance. Even in Brezhnev's times Moscow still slowed down Budapest's eagerness to reform—and at that time everybody was cowed looking at "big brother." Would he tolerate the experiment of cautious opening—and if so, for how long.

The development has borne out the Hungarian reformers—and more and more quickly than the latter themselves had expected it. Their warnings about the catastrophic consequences of extensive mismanagement and the neglect of the laws of the market place have been fully confirmed—and now the reformers in Budapest can practice self-criticism only in one point: that they did not insist on their point of view earlier and more forcefully. But that again was not possible for political reasons.

Now a race with time has started for Hungary. And almost everybody in the country knows that the economic problems can be solved only by cooperation with that part of the world that is called "capitalist" in Hungary. In this connection the Federal Republic then immediately plays a significant role—because, as many Hungarians assure us time and again, they met with maximum understanding among the Germans and, by the way, also among the Austrians for their complicated situation. A Hungarian civil servant in elevated position: "Militarily and ideologically we are and of course remain members of the Warsaw Pact and allies of the Soviet Union. But economically, intellectually, and in our mentality we are now once again where we have always belonged in our history: close to the Germans."

12356

#### **Szarszo Front's Goals, Aims Summarized After August Conference**

25000003b Budapest OTLET in Hungarian  
8 Sep 88 p 3

[Unsigned article: "The Szarszo Front"]

[Text] Having accepted a closing resolution, the Szarszo'88 Conference (held between 25 and 31 Aug under the auspices of the Council of Clubs on Social Policy and Homeland Information together with the Istvan Bibo, Laszlo Rajk, and Istvan Szechenyi specialized colleges) ended its sessions. The conference was attended by members of some 30 voluntary organizations.

The first of the resolution's four parts refers to the crisis of the Hungarian nation and states that, during the 20th century, there has been a harmful deterioration in the ties that bind Hungarians to Europe and, within these ties, the foundation of our relationship with neighboring

countries, even though it is only "the democratic integration of Central Europe" that can provide lasting guarantee for the future of Hungarians. This part of the resolution also criticizes the economic and social policies pursued during the 1980's.

The second part talks about the transformation of the political system implemented through autonomous social organizations. This is the sphere of activities within which we must realize the reform of democratic autonomy and implement our community development policies, the equality of proprietary forms, and the right of local communities to merge with each other, elect their leaders, and enact measures through plebiscites. In the course of transforming our political system, we will need new election laws, the institution of a national leader with clearly defined powers, and constitutional and administrative courts. We must provide independent publicity for our social movements and organizations.

Our specific economic reforms will be complete only if augmented by a transformation in the system of our society. According to the resolution, "The making of social policies should be removed from the system of centralized redistribution and transformed into a social enterprise reinforced by special state guarantees."

Finally, the resolution defines the program for the democratization of environmental protection. A significant element of this definition is that economic decisions should not be made before the size and shape of the required capital for the environment is carefully examined and evaluated. The degree of environmental damage estimated to result from certain projects and technologies (such as environmental pollution) must be brought to the attention of the public. According to the writers of the resolution, work should be halted and a plebiscite should be held on [constructing the river-barrage system at] Bos-Nagymaros.

At the closing of the outdoor seminar, more than 100 participants signed a document declaring the formation of the Szarszo Front, which reflects the spirit of the proceedings, and which can include private individuals as well as various clubs and circles.

12588

#### **New March Front Program Published** 2500002a Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 17 Sep 88 p 10

[Text] A group of Hungarian intellectuals decided to establish the New March Front in December of 1987. They summarized their point of view and endeavors in a declaration accepted by all in March 1988, but only now have they had the chance to publish it, according to President Szilard Ujhelyi and Executive Secretary Ivan

Vitanyi, the leaders of the organization. In the following we give excerpts from the publication calling for "The Intellectual Founding of Social Renewal".

A crisis is threatening Hungary.

The crisis is endangering the entirety of society, political life, and the economy.

We cannot contemplate passively the deepening of this process. This situation prompts us to turn to the public and initiate the formation of the New March Front in order to provide intellectual stimulus for the social, political and economic renewal.

Hungary has taken a pioneering role in the Eastern European reform processes of the past quarter century. As a consequence, our collapse would create a grave situation for the reformist endeavors, which have reached international dimension by now, and this process would threaten the stability of Europe as well.

Day by day the responsibility of those increases who, as participants in the shaping of public opinion, could take effective action to stop our decline and to start rising.

The prerequisite of political and moral betterment is that we see our history clearly; and, first of all, that we clarify our recent past. Our society would like to see clearly what processes have led to the crisis and what those traditions are on which the endeavors for a renewal can rely on.

#### The Goals of the New March Front

1. The goals and the ways out of the crisis should be determined in democratic and public debates. The search for these goals has to be accompanied by the renewal of the leadership and the self-activity of society.

2. We urge the reform and transformation of the political institutional structure and the recognition and broadening of the role and responsibility of society, of communities and the associations of citizens.

The leading role of the party has to be rethought. History will justify this role only if the party proves to be the engine of social, economic and political change. In order to lay the foundation for this, the field and scope of the party's decisionmaking has to be defined and society's control on it has to be insured.

The prerequisite of sincere, genuine and open political life is freedom of information, television, radio and the press.

3. The basis of economic reform is entrepreneurship subject to the control of market competition. We see the future in the development of a socialist-type market economy built on a variety of forms of property and controlled by the state.

4. The prerequisite of social renewal is a social policy which can continuously combine fairness and efficiency. This policy has to include the renewal of demographic, health and social policy.

The falling behind of the poorest strata cannot become irreversible, the most modest forms of subsistence have to be insured for everybody. The democratic integration of Gypsies into society is a basic question of the Hungarian society's future.

5. There is no social renewal without intellectual and moral renewal. One of the basic goals of the intellectual renewal is to eliminate both the separation of "official" and "nonofficial" public life and publicity, and the exclusion of intellectual groups holding critical views. All views, except those instigating national, racial and religious hatred, must be provided freedom of expression, including free criticism of the official policy and institutions.

8. We are fully aware of the fact that the renewal of the political institutional system and the creation of a basis for the consensus of the 90s requires years of thoughtful work; however, the present situation demands urgent action. We believe it is necessary to create the National Social Consultative Board with the double responsibility of being the advisory board for leading party and government organizations and of being a forum which, on behalf of society, can evaluate and give its opinion on these organs' endeavors and activity.

It would be reasonable to invite representatives from party, state and social organizations, and representatives of alternative endeavors who are currently squeezed out of public life to become members of this board.

As the founders of the New March Front we call upon the party and state leadership to be aware of its increased responsibility and so to support all initiatives aiming at the promotion of social, political and economic renewal.

Budapest, March 1988

Laszlo Antal  
Julianna P. Szucs  
Jozsef Korosi  
Tamas Bauer  
Szilard Ujhelyi  
Tamas Nagy  
Sandor Fekete  
Ivan Vitanyi  
Ferenc Pataki  
Zoltan Kiraly  
Gyorgy Baló  
Marton Tardos  
Laszlo Lengyel  
Mihaly Bihari  
Miklos Vasarhelyi  
Rezső Nyers  
Laszlo Gyurko  
Tibor Vámos

13212



**Debates on Assembly-Law Draft Yield Strong Criticism, Skepticism**

25000003a Budapest *MAGYAR HIRLAP* in Hungarian  
14 Sep 88 p 3

[Article: "In the Heat of Social Debate: The Two Proposed Laws Are Also Exciting Reading"]

[Text] Until now, church-connected personalities were not given an opportunity to participate in debating the proposed law on associations by expressing their views on the pages of this newspaper. Yesterday the clergymen of Budapest's third district gathered in the Magyar Lajos district offices of the Patriotic People's Front, in order to debate how the proposed law will effect the churches.

Jozsef Bakonyi, the head minister of the "Good Shepherd" pastoral bureau, stated by way of explanation that the district's clergymen and parish priests are simply unable to take the time to discuss the issue. Even early afternoon is a bad time; this explains in part why so few showed up. However, there are more meaningful factors to be considered as well:

"In the old days, all gatherings of this type used to start with the clergymen present saying: 'Thank you for thinking of us, and inviting us to this discussion.' Public activity of this kind did not used to be part of our apparent duties. Many people did not show up, thinking: 'All right, so they heard me out; but what will happen afterwards? Who pays attention? What will happen to the proposals made? These cannot be monitored, so many people consider these invitations to be mere formalities.'"

And this is in spite of the fact that the representatives of churches should be doubly interested in the implementation of laws concerning associations and the right of assembly: After all, the new law concerning church affairs is also in preparation. People are uncertain as to what kind of measures that law will contain concerning the status of religious associations.

"Naturally, religious associations can be supervised only by bishops; nothing else would make sense. What makes us uncertain is that there are no provisions concerning this point in the law on associations and, for the time being, we do not know what provisions may be included in the law concerning religious affairs."

[Question] You said that you have not read anything 'more exciting' recently than the proposed law. As you were studying it, what was your reaction to the proposal?

[Answer] I objected to the style and the basic tone. The proposal professes to grant certain rights and privileges. As far as I am concerned, we should not be talking about granting something that is the right of every citizen. At the same time, I also feel that, instead of providing certainty, the proposal creates a sense of uncertainty. We need a law that enables us to hold the state accountable,

as well as the individual. The proposal lacks certain concrete definitions: For example, it does not tell us what is meant by public order, public safety and state security. These should be precisely explained; otherwise, they can be interpreted in accordance with the momentary political situation, which does not exclude the possibility of arbitrary interpretation. Whatever is allowed today may be prohibited tomorrow. What guarantees that this would not happen? I also think it is a mistake that the provisions governing the right of assembly do not apply to the nomination and election of parliamentary deputies. Why not? Those are exactly the situations in which the citizen may speak out and become directly involved in shaping the country's political life. After all, he is genuinely interested in who would represent him in the National Assembly or in the local councils.

Instead of a conflict between generations, we have seen a heated exchange between people holding equally valuable opinions at yesterday's debate held in the offices of the first district's Patriotic Peoples Front. To be sure, there were veteran communists, survivors of much struggle, proposing various restrictions to be placed on the rights of assembly and association; but there were also young and middle-aged workers (invited by the People's Front to the meeting, indicating its special confidence in these workers), who took a dissenting position that remained free of extreme views.

As an introduction, Mrs. Gyorgy Kovacs, the first district secretary [of the Front], announced that there will be 28 separate debates held in this part of the city, involving intellectuals, workers, educators and even high-school students. The two proposals were introduced by Dr. Tibor Janklovics, a lawyer, who outlined the history of civic freedoms and their regulation in Hungary's past. He emphasized that we need jointly formed legal regulations, and pointed out that until now our constitutionally guaranteed basic rights have been declared only by administrators and members of the legal profession.

Laszlo Putnoki, a pensioner, pointed out how much the present proposed law resembles the one proposed by the French Communist Party two decades ago, which was in part ratified. When it comes to the right of association, however, he felt that the proposal guarantees only the security of the state and not the existing social order: It should not be allowed to establish associations that attack the existing socialist order. Zsolt Varga, on the other hand, felt it superfluous to begin the proposal's first paragraph with the restriction: "The Hungarian People's Republic recognizes and guarantees the right of assembly." In his view, citizens of the country are a priori entitled to that right; the government should only be able to place certain limits on the exercising of that right. Dr. Tibor Czener said that the regulations in the second paragraph of the law on exercising the right of assembly are "too flexible": that is, provisions concerning state security, public order and public morality may

cover everything. Several people suggested that the rights of assembly and association should not come under the authority of the local police, but that of the local councils. Others felt that the five-day advance notice prescribed by law was too long.

Geza Buda, a semiskilled worker and the representative of the workers' association FIDESZ, spoke of the rights of assembly and association as fundamental human rights. Speaking in the name of his organization, he proposed that the rights of assembly and association should be restricted only if certain actions are directed against the Constitution, or if they are forbidden by a legal court order. In the course of assemblies, people should be able to express their will as well as their opinions. Together with others, he brought up this point: Does the law concerning associations effect the MSZMP and the trade unions? The majority view during this debate (held on the Bem embankment), was that it should, even including the founding of political parties. In other words, a comprehensive law must not make exceptions based on party affiliation or ideological belonging; it should apply equally to all citizens.

Nandor Munkacsy, a pensioner, brought up an interesting issue: The proposed law concerning the right of assembly contains, in his view very correctly, provisions on how much foreign citizens could be involved in the founding of an association or organization. However, it does not say what to do about those organizations and alliances that were disbanded or that ceased operation earlier, around the time [1948] when the Communists assumed power in Hungary.

Oszkar Vig's comment reflected even some points of view. He referred to the debate (televised Monday) during which opponents of the [Bica-Nagy-maros] river-barrage system based their arguments solely on their opposition, while the so-called experts relied exclusively on their prestige. What we need, at last, is a practice of basing discussion in our legislative bodies and associations on facts, data and rational arguments.

12588

**Agitprop Chief Berecz Main Sponsor of Amnesty International-Backed Rock Concert**  
25000002b Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 17 Sep 88 p 9

[Text] The marathon concert of September 6, organized for human rights (Concert for Human Rights Now!), was part of the concert series in 16 countries around the world on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the UN. Eighty-one thousand paying spectators could listen to the world stars in the Nepszínház [People's Stadium] from 6 pm to 1:30 am. Bruce Springsteen, the E-Street Band, Peter Gabriel, Sting, Tracy Chapman, Youssou N'Dour,

and Janos Brody followed each other on the stage. As we learned from Laszlo Hegedus, director of Multimedia Organization (Europe) Ltd. and one of the major organizers of the concert, the cost of the night in Hungary, including everything from the rent of the stadium to audio and light technology and cleaning, was 10 million forints. In addition, about 6 million forints was paid for airplanes chartered for the foreign stars, their equipment, and staff. The projectors and video equipment from Paris cost 2.4 million forints. Thus, the bottom line of the marathon rock festival was about 15 million forints. According to estimates, the revenues reach approximately 19 million forints. The organizers still have to pay domestic and foreign royalties, and the cultural fee to the domestic cultural fund. All this amounts to 3 million forints; however, they may succeed in persuading the organizations involved to relinquish this amount so that the sum, in the charitable spirit of the concert, can be transferred to the fund. (The world tour is organized by a U.N.-backed fund called Concert for Human Rights.)

The surely expectable net revenues of the Budapest concert reach about 1 million forints, but, if no money has to be spent on royalties and cultural fees, it amounts to 4 million forints, or, more exactly, \$74 thousand, which can be transferred to the fund's account. The question is, how will the forints become dollars? According to Laszlo Hegedus, his own company, Multimedia, will handle the conversion. It will give the dollar amount on credit, which it will recoup by having Hungarian technology and experts contracted for concerts abroad.

The idea of the concert series embracing 16 countries of the world was born in the mind of Bill Graham, the famous American rock manager, in Moscow in the summer of 1987. Bill Graham, who is also the manager of Rolling Stones, started to organize charity concerts involving political goals in the 1960's. At that time, he organized a festival for peace in Vietnam, but he also took part in, for example, the organization of the Live Aid concert. Peter Gabriel, who gave a performance in Budapest in the fall of 1987, suggested that the concert series be started in Budapest, and got Multimedia to organize the concert in Hungary. Interconcert, the first to be contacted, responded at the beginning of the year that the idea was good but the time was not. They then turned to the National Council of Peace, from where they received a similar response at the end of March. Following this, they asked for the help of Janos Berecz, secretary of the Central Committee of MSZMP, at the end of May, after the party congress, and agreed to sponsor the concert. The organizers thus were given a green light. A. M. Martin, chief secretary of Amnesty International, an organization counting nearly 700 thousand members, came to Budapest before the concert and met with several Hungarian politicians. Amnesty International has not been recognized by Hungary yet.

13212



**Independent Trade Unions Begin To Mushroom**  
25000006b Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG  
in Hungarian 17 Sep 88 p 56

[Unattributed article: "New Trade Unions? Transformation"]

[Text] The new motion picture trade union that is independent from the Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] will hold its first meeting after [this issue goes to] press. Its planned name is "Motion Picture Democratic Trade Union." In addition to motion picture workers, the association of journalists, a group which identified itself as "the trade union committee secretaries of the printed press", as well as the educators' trade union also advanced ideas of becoming independent.

Eighty-nine motion picture workers signed a proclamation last Tuesday at the music hall of Magyar Film, calling for the establishment of a motion picture trade union independent from SZOT. Immediately thereafter they formed a 36-member organizing committee to hold its first meeting on 13 September. The committee is expected to prepare bylaws. It is planned that the new trade union will be called the "Motion Picture Democratic Trade Union" (MODESZ). The proclamation stressed that the establishment of the union is necessary because "dissatisfaction developed among motion picture, television and video workers as well as within the associated trades because their professions and working conditions are gradually deteriorating. The present system of interest representation is formal and ineffective, and is unable to function. It is for this reason that we attach importance to the effective representation of our individual and professional interests, as well as of the entire cultural life. We believe that this triple interest may be protected only by a new trade union organized from the grass roots, which is democratic as well as autonomous."

Movie directors Laszlo Vitezy and Karoly Makk responded in behalf of the organizers to questions raised by HETI VILAGGAZDASAG. The need to organize an interest protection organization arose after part of the profession discussed last July a program for the renewal of the present motion picture trade union branch. Vitezy is a Central Committee member of that branch. The membership was not satisfied with the idea of renewal and asked Vitezy to call for the resignation of the trade union leadership. This action failed because of the number of leadership members present was insufficient to constitute a quorum. After studying the operations of the Scientific Workers Democratic Trade Union, the dissatisfied motion picture workers drafted a proclamation calling for the establishment of a trade union. Makk had this to say concerning their goals: dual membership is a possibility, and they want to make use of experience gained by previous trade union employees joining the new union.

According to Vitezy, MODESZ would be structured on the basis of autonomous units which would send representatives to the board which is not expected to render

mandatory decisions for the autonomous units [that comprise MODESZ]. In their view every motion picture worker could become a member of MODESZ, including technical personnel from the television and the motion picture industries, moreover they feel that even motion picture distributors could join MODESZ.

Over the signature: "the trade union committee secretaries of the printed press" there appeared in the 10 September issue of [the trade union newspaper] NEPSZAVA a proclamation calling for the establishment of a trade union. The signatories feel that it is necessary to establish a legally recognized trade union for the press. According to the paper the organization would function as an independent decision making authority using its own financial resources, but in association with similar organizations established by printers, paper industry workers and publishing employees. In other words, nothing more is happening than transforming a common union into an association of trade unions. The proclamation states that the membership will discuss the plan in the "near future" but does not provide additional information.

Recently the control committee of the Association of Hungarian Journalists (MUOSZ) wrote to that organization's presidium also in regards to the establishment of a trade union. At present those engaged in information dissemination are members of several autonomous trade unions. According to the control committee, it would be conceivable to establish an association of these trade unions to be called the Association of Information Dissemination Workers Trade Union. Others believe that perhaps MUOSZ should acquire the rights held by trade unions. The third variation is similar to the alternative offered in the proclamation which appeared in NEPSZAVA.

Last week at a meeting of the Educators' Trade Union presidium it was recommended that the union be changed into an association of a public education workers union on the one hand, and a higher education workers union, on the other. The council on higher education of the educators' union called for a general meeting at the Technical University of Budapest on 7 October to announce the establishment of the higher education workers union. They established a working group within the educators' association to develop the plan.

12995

## POLAND

**Anticrisis, Proreform Talks Not Possible Without Full Democratization**

26000004a Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
5 Aug 88 p 3

[Excerpt of article by Prof Wojciech Wrzesinski, vice-chairman of the Polish Historical Association, in GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, 25 Jul 88: "Preliminary Conditions"]

[Text] In public circles outside the small group of persons associated with the real centers of power, one can

clearly see that there continues to exist a difference between verbal reassurances of increased democracy and what is actually being done on a daily basis. This discrepancy confirms the continuance of traditional mechanisms close to an authoritarian system. The persistence of these mechanisms, the unspoken but real fear of a radical reform of political life, and the continued game of musical chairs in important official positions has reinforced the indifference of a growing number of Poles toward the many facets of public life. The predominance of such indifference poses a great danger to the future and limits our chances of overcoming the crisis and bringing about internal changes, and is also the logical result of present policy.

In such a situation, it seems unreal but still enticing to implement the idea of an anticrisis pact or even a pro-reform coalition in which one would see a real reconciliation between broad forces of the public and the government rather than mere declarations by individual persons.

Regardless of what it is called, the preparation of such a reconciliation that could produce the desired results in overcoming some factors of the crisis first requires that steps be taken by the ruling circles to achieve real democracy and the formation of a pluralistic political system. Delaying political reform also delays any chance of forming an anticrisis pact and, in spite of all efforts to the contrary, leads to a rebirth of conditions for a centralized economic and political system.

12261

#### **Voivodship Defense Committee Meetings Held, Reported**

26000124 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
28 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] Voivodship defense committee meetings were held in Torun and in Bielsko-Biala.

In Bielsko-Biala, the defense committee discussed the state of [being able to] meet the needs of the population in terms of basic foodstuffs and industrial goods. It also familiarized itself with the means of creating reserve supplies in the region.

In Torun, the defense committee evaluated the state of sanitation and order in the region in light of the results of [published in] the "Spring 88" operation.

#### **'Polonia' Society Seeks Contacts With Veterans Living Abroad**

26000004b Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
5 Aug 88 p 3

[Excerpts from interview with Jozef Klasa, general secretary of the "Polonia" Society for Contact With Poles Living Abroad in WIECZOR WYBRZEZA, 26 Jul 88,

by T. Zwierzchowski: "Roots and Thorns"; place of interview not given]

[Text]

[Klasa] It is a new thing to defend the interests of Polish emigrants, because, until recently, no one has done so. In our relationship to the state, we want to inspire the sort of legislation that will promote free contact with the homeland. We also want to change laws that were created during the Stalinist era and which are no longer appropriate under the new policy of openness.

[Zwierzchowski] The 50th anniversary of the start of World War II, which actually began right here in Gdansk, is coming soon. A high percentage of Polish World War II veterans is scattered throughout the world. What has the "Polonia" Society prepared for them on the occasion of this anniversary?

[Klasa] We want the 50th anniversary to bring together all comrades-in-arms who once fought under the white and red flag of Poland. It is no longer relevant to accuse but rather to unite veterans, and the age, wisdom, and experience of these people makes that a worthwhile endeavor. I am referring to combat veterans from both the eastern and western fronts as well as veterans of the partisan struggle. Between these groups, there persist certain now-irrelevant political divisions, and these divisions have caused much harm that is hard to forget. The revocation of Polish citizenship of 76 generals has been a thorn in our sides that must now be publicly removed.

12261

#### **Warsaw Registers New Associations, Mostly Cultural**

26000004d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
6-7 Aug 88 p 4

[Unattributed article: "More New Catholic Cultural Associations Are Forming"]

[Text] According to what our PAP [Polish Press Agency] correspondent has learned, the Warsaw City Hall has registered several new associations, and scores of others will soon be added.

The cultural associations are an exemplary group. The chartered goal of many of them is to socialize such areas as international policy and science. One of these new associations is the recently registered Polish International Relations Club, which wants to promote Polish political thinking and support actions for peace and reconciliation. One of its officials is Prof Aleksander Gieysztor. The Society for the Propagation of Catholic Social Science is another such organization.

It is also worth noting the registration of the Association of Cultural Promoters and the "Tess" Film Discussion

Club. The recommendation by Mariusz Wlaser and Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz to register the "Council of Producers and Distributors of Audiovisual Programs" Cultural Association awaits action. According to its founders, the goal of this association will be to promote Polish art, defend the rights and interests of authors, and represent the interests of producers and distributors.

The Warsaw City Hall also registered the Public Committee for Preservation of the Graves of the "Zoska" Battalion's Fallen.

12261

#### **Lack of Trust Results in Overuse of Resources, Materials**

26000004c Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
5 Aug 88 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Witaszczyk in DZIENNIK LODZKI 29 Jul 88: "Just Right for a Crisis"]

[Text] A building prefabricated from large slabs is several times heavier than similar ones built using other technologies. Not only the exterior walls but also many of the interior ones are made of steel covered with a thick layer of concrete [naszpikowana].

Under Polish conditions, one can assume that there is much more steel and concrete in these buildings than they need because no one trusts the way in which our buildings are erected. The architect calls for thicker steel because he does not have faith in the quality of the steel that the builders will receive. He also distrusts the cement producers and the factory making the prefabricated construction elements. In the prefabricated house factories, they in turn use thicker steel components for the very same reasons because there is no other way to make the components that are really needed.

12261

#### **Papal Gift to Torun Children's Hospital**

26000004f Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
6-7 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] The Torun Children's Hospital, which was opened just a few months ago, has received new equipment. Chelm Bishop Marian Przykucki presented the hospital with Pope John Paul II's gift of one of the latest generation of X-ray machines, the "Sigmatic c68", and spare parts for the device. This type of X-ray, which is something the hospital has not had up to now, is used to study childhood diseases and, thanks to various specialized attachments, makes it possible to take many different types of X-ray pictures.

12261

## **YUGOSLAVIA**

### **'Slovenian' Version of Political Events Challenged** 28000010 Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 88 pp 8-10

[Article by Milan Damjanovic: "The Slovenian 'Truth' About Kosovo"]

[Text] In this Yugoslavia of ours, which also includes Slovenia, many anniversaries are celebrated. Recently, these celebrations have been used more and more for politicians to speak about their program or to oppose the programs of politicians from other republics. While the trial of "Jansi, et al." was going on in Ljubljana, the chairman of the Slovenian LC Central Committee spoke about those events even at the opening of a competition in choral singing.

This time Kucan used a visit to Maribor to repeat some of his old ideas about the protest rallies of Serbs and Montenegrins. He said: "Now that Serbs and Montenegrins are already coming to Slovenia, then let the Albanians come as well."

A week later, during ceremonies to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the section of the "Brotherhood and Unity" Limited-Access Highway between Ljubljana and Zagreb, Kucan, who was once the commander of a youth labor brigade himself, spoke to the gathered youth labor brigade members and veterans about the solidarity rallies in Novo Mesto. He said that most of the participants in these gatherings who attend with the firm conviction that they are making a contribution to resolving a human, social, and ethnic drama cannot expect understanding and support, since the most sinister human and ethnic passions are inflamed at the rallies, Yugoslavia is forcibly cut up and the Constitution changed, calls for arms are issued, there is incitement against other nationalities, and people are accused without argument simply because they think differently.

Taking advantage of such "occasions," Joze Smole, president of the Slovenian Republic Conference of the SAWP, warned a gathering of Slovenian mountain climbers about the "shortsightedness of those who are creating an anti-Albanian mood." Among other things, he had this to say: "Proponents of Albanian nationalism and the Irredenta are one thing, and the Albanian nationality something quite different. The Albanians have just as vital an interest in the full equality of inhabitants of Kosovo as do the Serbs and Montenegrins. That is why it is not good that the opinion of the Albanians is not also heard in the numerous gatherings in Serbia."

#### **The Air Show**

So, now even the Serbs are scratching their heads. The Slovenes have "hit upon an idea" which is supposed to



be democratic, but they have only announced to Yugoslavia what the Serbs and Montenegrins, along with the other nationalities in Kosovo, have been asking others for years, without encountering understanding. For years, they themselves have been wondering: Why do the Albanians not take part in their protest gatherings and rallies?

Only two things can be noted in the Slovenian politicians' interest in the events in Kosovo and in their "naive" questions and proposals for possible solutions: either the Slovenes have no idea what is happening in Kosovo or they are "pretending to be deaf"—indeed, just like certain politicians in Kosovo, who always "agree," but they always do otherwise.

In the conversation which TV Ljubljana arranged between Joze Smole, president of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia; Daut Jasanica, chairman of the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the SAWP; Miroslav Markovic of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SAWP; Rahman Morina, secretary of the provincial SUP; Franc Setinc, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee; and Miroslav Slevic, member of the Committee for Organizing Protest Rallies of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, and ordinary Serbs and Albanians interviewed on the spot, we had occasion to hear the following statement by Daut Jasanica. In answer to the question from yet another "naive" Slovene of why the Kosovo Provincial Committee of the SAWP had not been organizing multinational gatherings and rallies, Daut Jasanica answered: "In the past we have had interethnic rallies at celebrations commemorating events in the history of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, and so on, including one just last year. We had a rally attended by 70,000 people, the air show at Slatina, not far from Pristina, which was attended by members of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities."

How is one to refrain from crossing himself? While genocide is being practiced against one nationality, driving a people out of its own land and forcing it to protest when there is no one to defend it, the other nationalities turn their heads away. And they are still pretending not to know anything, to put it mildly. They are demanding multinational meetings where they never can be held, and they offer as a proof of brotherhood and unity a multinational gathering at an air show. In this case, a better "example" would be the soccer match of the "Pristina" team in Pristina, since there will be Serbs, Albanians, Montenegrins, Muslims, and others in the stadium.

In order to finally show a willingness to understand the troubles of a people and the troubles of a republic that is not altogether whole, now that 8 years have passed since the counterrevolution broke out in Kosovo, the Slovenes sent a group of some 40 newsmen to Kosovo. They went by bus, van, and car, carrying cameras, tape recorders, and television cameras, they traveled rapidly all over Kosovo, and they concluded that everything was quiet

there and everything in order, since not a single newspaperwoman from Slovenia was attacked in the center of Pristina nor in the "Grand" Hotel.

#### Once Again on the Subject of Democracy

Thus, after just 2 days the reporters for GORENJSKI GLAS reported that "the streets of Pristina do not reveal any signs of ethnic tension, enmity, unrest, violence, or marshal law. No one answered the question of where the army and police are, but it is almost impossible to see any army or police."

Literary aspirations and political insinuations are still more evident in the Maribor VECER. "The high marble banks and other buildings, factory chimneys producing losses rise up to the sky from impoverished surroundings, and in them the chosen of the Serb and Montenegrin nationalities, who have more or less snatched up the positions through connections and acquaintances, are living rather well. And in general there is not as much unrest as the Serbian news media have been writing in their effort to scare people...."

We sincerely hope that the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, along with the Turks, Muslims, and Gypsies, have not read this, since it would probably turn their stomachs. People did not know how well and idyllically they were living until the Slovenes came to Kosovo. Perhaps that is the reason why the slogans at the rally in Ratkovo included this one: "Slovenes, just remember Serbian biscuits!"

The civilized part of Europe presumably thinks that everything happening down south is merely "exotic" and that people are "imaginative." It seems as though people in the south are always "dirty, ugly, and evil" and should be happy when they read in Slovenian newspapers that "there is some tension in the air, but more and more the main persons distressed are those who read the newspapers regularly." That is to say, the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo are not disturbed because they are threatened with genocide, because Albanian nationalists are raping children and old women, beating up boys and old men, driving an entire people to move northward, but because they are reading the newspapers regularly!

When we speak about democracy, and the Slovenes talk mostly about democracy, some things simply cannot be swallowed. How does that democracy look in Slovenian practice?

The answer to this question became evident this past summer when Jansi and others were tried "in the Serbian language," as it was reported in Croatian newspapers. Would the problem have been lessened if the trial were conducted in Croatian? One of the forms of that

struggle of a segment of the Slovene people for "democracy," so we have learned the last days, is this: Zivko Mazic, military prosecutor who conducted the court trial against Jansi in Ljubljana, has been receiving threatening letters for months. And he most probably will have to move from Ljubljana "under pressure."

Zivko Mazic said in an interview with the Novi Sad DNEVNIK that for 3 months he has been living for all practical purpose under house arrest and that even his mother-in-law has not been spared abuse, even though she is a Slovene and is old and lives 170 km from Ljubljana. He has received letters beginning: "Esteemed dirtball from the south...."

### 'My Country'

Slovenia has always been a model for the rest of the country. That is why we are so surprised now that they fail to understand certain things. Even those basic things which they were the first to advocate and which we at the beginning were only attempting to imitate. Such things as democracy and the market economy above all. More and more we are seeing how Slovenian democracy looks in practice, although this is not something we enjoy at all. As far as the market goes, it seems that the Slovenes have objected strenuously to what they themselves have said, that is, they have been trapped in a contradiction from which there is no easy escape. Thus, now even we in the south of Serbia know how the Slovenian economy stands. The oldest and most worn-out industrial plant, with the lowest growth of labor productivity and the most expensive manpower, normally produces an expensive product as well.

In this general poverty of ours everyone is buying only what he must, and even then is choosing what is cheaper. And Slovenian products are the most expensive. Thus, the argument has recently been heard more and more that the southerners are avoiding Slovenian products "out of nationalism." That is not so. They are avoiding them because they are expensive, but it seems to the Slovenes that someone is out to get them. In that context they turn the argument from the economic to the political plane and, as it now appears, they are trying to turn some profit by political means, even if it means keeping silent about the Albanian Irredenta, since that kind of behavior could open up their way, if not into Serbia, then into a new colony: Kosovo.

The Slovenes need Yugoslavia very much. Although it was argued at one time that Yugoslavia was a way station for Slovenia and for its future social system, we are now ready to say that the Slovenes do not want to secede from Yugoslavia. The Slovenes have always been very good with figures. "Iskra" of Kranj, for example, would calculate in an instant that in the case of its newest computers (which it is pushing throughout Yugoslavia instead of the much cheaper computers from Singapore) that the datum that the Slovenes are the largest exporters is mainly relative—because they are mostly exporting to

Serbia, Vojvodina, and Croatia. That is, in those states they make up in price what they lose in the West. And in return they offer us the most expensive television sets, refrigerators, fruit juices, pharmaceuticals, cosmetics, knitted shirts, and undershorts. The rest of Yugoslavia, which has been paying their prices, is left without a pot to plant a flower in.

It is in the context of everything we have mentioned that one should also examine the most recent Slovenian "interest" in Kosovo and the problem of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

In the discussion on TV Ljubljana much was said about the rallies which the Serbs and Montenegrins are holding in other places, attempting to say what is paining and bothering them. It is interesting that Daut Jasanica spoke both Serbo-Croatian and Albanian at that meeting, depending on what suited him or someone else on the particular occasion. It seems that he, like the other Albanian leaders, speaks Albanian when he has something to say and Serbian when he is not certain of what he is saying—so that he can later say that he was misunderstood and that he does not know the language well. At the very outset he explained that "there is a tendency on the part of individuals and groups to misuse the attitudes of individuals and groups." He is "talking into the breeze," that is, but Jasanica will say that he did not know how to express himself in Serbo-Croatian.

Joze Smole immediately came to his aid, saying: "We in Slovenia believe that the rallies and protest meetings are altogether legitimate. We have nothing against such gatherings. We agree with the positions taken by the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee and Presidium of the Serbian SAWP that the causes of dissatisfaction and the causes of such rallies should be sought elsewhere. Of course, the question of content and certain slogans has to be asked at each rally. We said in a meeting of the Presidium of the SAWP that the Socialist Alliance must distance itself from and condemn clearly the slogan 'Give us arms,' which has been heard in the rallies."

Smole was answered by Miroslav Markovic: "I would say that the gatherings are a criticism of our inability to protect the elementary rights of citizens who have been threatened solely because their name is ethnically Serbian or Montenegrin. I think it is clear to everyone that the present situation is intolerable. I agree with Comrade Smole that there are slogans which are unacceptable. The socialist forces in Serbia have taken a clear position and set themselves apart.... However, we should look at what is dominant in those meetings. And the dominant thing is the demand for living together, for equality, for tolerance, for mutual respect among the nationalities and among individuals.... At the same time, in taking a clear position concerning those unacceptable slogans, we should not forget that in Kosovo, unfortunately, in spite of the efforts that have been made, people have taken up arms and are posting guards. We have to respond to the

causes and to the questions: Why is a state based on law, why is a system of government and its institutions unable to discharge its duties and responsibilities as provided for in the Constitution?"

That program also included an interview with Miroslav Solevic, who said that the Albanian woman, as a woman, is in the most serious political position in the province, since she has been made into a baby-making machine and in the family has the role of a washing machine—whenever she is turned on, she has to wash (have a baby). After her, it is the Albanian who has publicly expressed a Yugoslav orientation that is in the most serious political position, and only then come the Serbs and Montenegrins and other non-Albanian inhabitants.

When Setinc entered the discussion, we also heard his opinion about the rallies. "I have already spoken about that at the meeting in Kopar," Franc Setinc said. "I said there that at one time there were brotherhood and unity trains, but now they carry only the seed of discord."

Later, Franc Setinc was asked about the constitutional amendments in Serbia. He replied that he "would not talk about that" now. After all, he is not "able to talk about that." A few days later, Franc Setinc paid a visit to Prizren. In a meeting with representatives of Prizren Opstina, Setinc said that "Prizren is the model that should serve as the basis for building relations in Kosovo." Setinc backed up his enthusiasm about the situation in that opstina by expressing a desire that a meeting of the LCY Central Committee assign him to Prizren.

Everyone was enthusiastic after this statement, even the Prizren leadership, which had managed to convince Setinc of the good situation in that opstina, which last year had the largest exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins.

What is one to say now about this? Are we to go on leading by the hand the leaders from the other republics who cannot or who do not wish to see the real state of affairs for themselves, but listen to "bodies of leaders" who ceased to be such long ago and against whom, incidentally, the protest meetings are being held? In Serbia, if someone does not wish to understand something—they say he is a real "Tosa." Thus, Franc has been given the nickname "Tosa." If he likes it, let him keep it forever, say the "grateful" Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

#### Even Though I Know, I Do Not Know

The police can never restore lasting order, said Rahman Morina on a live telecast. In response to a question from the curious Slovenes: "Who is financing the trips which Serbs and Montenegrins are making throughout Yugoslavia?", Morina said that he had no information on that. In response to the question of whether Albanian separatists were receiving assistance from Albania, Morina answered that he had no information. In response to the question of how people in Kosovo are

getting weapons, Morina answered that they have information to that effect, but "no specific information."

"Perhaps we do know something, but that is all for now."

The statements by the provincial secretary of the Internal Affairs Department are fascinating: he knows that he knows nothing and thinks that we should be glad of that. If necessary, he would in fact say what he knows or what he does not know.

The discussion in the Ljubljana studio was really "inspiring." The southerners particularly liked the questions from viewers. One viewer said that the program was interesting, but what he did not like about it was that the participants were pretending to be friends. Daut Jasanica answered him that they really are friends.

Another was interested in whether there is an Irredenta in Kosovo. Some asked why Kosovo could not be a republic—taken all in all, no one knows what it is all about.

So, fine. And what are the Serbs and Montenegrins to do? How are they to explain their troubles and their problems? Even today they are asking themselves why the Slovenes no longer have a stomach for Serbian grilled meat and why the main dish in the Slovenian tavern "Pristavec" is called "my homeland [in Slovenian]" and consists of cevapcici, sausages, pljeskavice, and cutlets—the important thing is that it not stink of the south.

No one in Serbia ever threatened anyone just because he was not a Serb. But it often happens the other way around. Slobodan Milosevic, chairman of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, issued a cordial request before the TV cameras for anyone who notices anything of the kind to speak up. So far no one has spoken up.

Recently, however, ideas have been expressed that represent a real danger—and that is Serbian separatism. Until now, we were worried that the Slovenes would break off from Yugoslavia. It would not be good for anyone to secede. The Serbs have long been aware that it is only in this multinational community that they can survive as a whole. Separatism is a danger which should be fought and should be prevented, at least until that idea spreads more widely.

07045

#### Efforts To Research Comintern Archives Described

28000011 Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 88 pp 30-31

[Interview with Milovan Bosic, director of the Archives of the LCY Central Committee, by Luka Miceta: "The Secrets Are Still Taboo"; date and place not given]

[Text] The Vatican Archives and the Archives of the Comintern are considered to be the two most interesting



and richest world archives, preserving in their myriad fascicles documents of various kinds that have great importance to the history of Christianity and Communism, and also to the history of humanity, since these two movements have had a decisive impact on the development of our civilization. It is not likely that we will ever become completely aware of everything they contain in their depths. However, the ice has been broken....

Thus, at the beginning of this year, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee relinquished 562 microcopies of archive material on the activity of bodies of the Comintern to the Archives of the LCY Central Committee.

We spoke about this and about certain aspects of relations between the Communist International and our own Communist Party that have not been cleared up with Dr Milovan Bosic, director of the Archives of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

[Question] The Comintern had a great influence not only in Europe, but also on other continents. At the seventh congress it numbered 46 members (sections). Because the activity of the Comintern was so widespread, it was assumed that its records were scattered over all the continents, but most of the material is kept in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow. Does that also apply to records related to our own CPY?

[Answer] In view of the position of the CPY in the period between the wars, that is, because it was operating underground, very little original archive material remained and was preserved within the country. Most of the material was preserved abroad, especially in the Archives of the Comintern. First of all, because the CPY leadership was out of the country for a long time and also because the CPY, as a member of the Comintern, was required to submit all reports to the bodies of the Communist International. These are the reasons most of the archive material was preserved and is now found in the Archives of the Comintern.

[Question] The Comintern kept close track of its members. It seems that the CPY was at the top of the list of topics of interest to the Comintern. What does the research done so far show?

[Answer] We can conclude on the basis of the research done so far that the Comintern—its congresses and executive bodies—and also the Balkan Communist Federation, dealt with the "Yugoslav question" about 100 times.

A dozen or so specific decisions concerned the "Yugoslav question," among which the most important resolutions are those of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, the Fifth Expanded Plenum of the Comintern Executive

Committee (1925); those of the Presidium of the Comintern Executive Committee (1926) and the Open Letter of the Comintern Executive Committee to members of the CPY (1928). In the intervals some 20 or so proclamations of bodies of the Comintern were issued on particular events in the Yugoslav movement. Two quite large conference sessions of leadership personnel of the CPY with the Comintern Executive Committee were organized: in April 1928 and in September 1936. In the period between the wars the executive bodies of the Comintern created special commissions on some 10 occasions; they are referred to in the records as "Yugoslav commissions," and they dealt with the problems of the CPY. Likewise, on some 10 or so occasions the Comintern made changes in the CPY leadership. The Comintern's instructors made several clandestine visits to Yugoslavia and took part in the proceedings of regional conferences, provincial conferences, and congresses of the CPY. A certain number of Yugoslav Communists were in Yugoslavia with the status of members of bodies of the Comintern or as its instructors, and they provided assistance to organizations of the CPY or performed special missions.

[Question] Why was the Comintern so insistent on breaking up Yugoslavia?

[Answer] The various decisions of the Comintern and indeed the insistence over many years on partitioning Yugoslavia as a "Versailles construct" were not a reflection of real needs or indeed of the strategy or policy of the revolutionary protagonist. At the same time, this fact shows that the power of executive bodies and the apparatus of the Comintern was becoming stronger and stronger, insisting on exerting still greater influence not only in the leadership, but even in the lower-level organizations, through its representatives and instructors, frequently neglecting even the vital interests of the party and the age-old aspirations of the most progressive representatives of the Yugoslav nationalities.

[Question] To what extent can the records demonstrate the influence of the Comintern on our CPY?

[Answer] The influence of the bodies of the Comintern on the overall political life of the CPY was considerably greater than is evident from the records. Only on the eve of World War II did that influence begin to diminish. Misunderstandings and disagreements between representatives of the CPY on the one hand and certain members of the bodies of the Comintern on the other of which you speak are to be found in the material of the Comintern congresses. There are almost no documents on how the CPY gradually and indubitably gained independence immediately before the war and indeed during it. That was a period when more was done and less was written. Nor, I should mention, has the research so far turned up a trace of documents that might provide the basis for scientific substantiation of many theses which have been greatly emphasized in the journalism of the

present day and even in certain works of history "on the radical opposition to the Comintern," about "essential disagreements," "conflicts," and the like.

[Question] But there are documents on "essential agreements." When were the Archives of the CPY Central Committee in a position to begin the systematic study and collection of the records that were in the Comintern?

[Answer] The Archives of the CPY Central Committee were in a position to begin the systematic study and collection of these records only in 1956. The intensity of that research has had an essential impact on development of relations between the parties. I would like to mention that over those 32 years the Archives of the CPY Central Committee have been shown understanding on the part of the Archives of the CPSU Central Committee and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee with respect to requests to study archive materials.

I believe that our party has received more material and documents than the other former members of the Comintern. We have so far requested and mainly obtained the records of our section, that is, documents generated by the work of the CPY, SKOJ, and other revolutionary organizations—the records sent to the bodies of the Comintern. We have so far received about 100,000 microcopies, pages, and documents.

[Question] When did you submit the request that you also be sent the records of bodies of the Comintern?

[Answer] Over the last few years, during conversations held with Soviet colleagues, to be sure on a verbal basis, we requested that we also be given those documents to examine. However, at that time the view was still predominant that these were the records of the Comintern, that this was in some way the property of all the CP's, and in the judgment of the Soviet comrades we could not obtain them without consent of all the CP's that are former members of the Comintern. So, the status of the records of the Comintern has not yet been settled so that the various segments might be sent to the sections.

[Question] You did not renew the requests in writing?

[Answer] We did, but only in 1986. The document was signed on behalf of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee by the presidium secretary Dimce Belovski. In the fall of that year we received a reply that our request was granted in principle and that we should submit our specific requests. We did that in the year that followed. That list was under consideration for quite a long time.

[Question] When was your request granted?

[Answer] Immediately before M. Gorbachev visited our country. The first batch of records has arrived, and we anticipate that we will be getting other records and that we will continue fruitful cooperation with the CPSU Central Party Archives.

[Question] What did you request from the Archives of the Comintern?

[Answer] The list is long (we look over the list). We have been requesting decisions and data on numerous and frequent changes in our leadership. For example, in January 1930 the Comintern Executive Committee made changes in the Politburo of the CPY Central Committee, appointing new members to the leadership of the CPY; during the summer of the same year another change was made in the leadership. In December 1930 the entire CPY leadership elected at the Fourth CPY Congress was removed; we do not know who the members were. A new leadership was named the following May. That leadership was removed toward the end of 1931, and a new one named on 3 April, and so on.

We have also requested the decision of the Comintern Executive Committee dating from December 1937 to withdraw its members Rodoljub Colakovic and Sreten Zujovic from the leadership of the CPY.

[Question] What have we received?

[Answer] There are quite a few important minutes from meetings of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern concerning speeches made by Yugoslav delegates and documents which shed light on our positions, lives, and personalities.

The record of election of the new CPY Central Committee in 1922 has been made accessible for the first time, along with the speeches made by Vladimir Copic, Kosta Novakovic, and Milan Gorkic during 1927 and 1928.

The material is now being photocopied and soon will be professionally processed and made accessible to scholars.

[Question] Are there documents of which it is said that it is early for them to be relinquished and presented to the public?

[Answer] There are no such documents in this batch. But the question is whether we have received all the documents preserved from that period.

[Question] Is it assumed that there are such documents?

[Answer] It is difficult to give a very precise answer to your question. The overall process of the democratization of Soviet society should be examined quite realistically. For the present and for a certain period we do not anticipate that we will obtain materials on our people who were victims of Stalin's purges. For the present, we

have received only the names of people posthumously rehabilitated. But we have not received any other information about them and their sufferings at all. Especially the material on what they were charged with or why they were eliminated.

07045

**Croatian Union Chief on Labor Unrest, Economy**  
28000008 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian  
18 Sep 88 p 5

[Interview with Bernardo Jurlina, president of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Croatia, by Ljubinka Markovic: "We Do Not Need a Corrupt Social Peace"; date and place not given]

[Text] Bernardo Jurlina attracted public attention this summer with an unusual statement. After the marathon talks in August with the strikers from Borovo, he was the first of the highest trade union leaders (as a member of the Presidency of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia [VSSJ] and president of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Croatia [VSSH]) to say that "the next time, he would sit with the workers, and not across from them!" Since then there have been more than enough circumstances for that "next time," and from all indications there will be until the end of the year. In the near time, during the period leading up to these politically hot fall days, has Jurlina changed his opinion?

[Answer] I absolutely stand by my statement. And where else should a trade union leader sit? Otherwise, whose side is he on—between the hammer and the anvil? And after all, what message does he send the workers by the very fact that he is sitting across from them?

[Question] Then why has the Presidency of the VSSH disassociated itself from the teachers' strike?

[Answer] It is a mistake, because it creates a conflict with the justified demands of those employed in education. The articulation of interests should be guided by the trade union, or the republic trade union board. I think that the leadership of the Croatian Federation of Trade Unions [SSH] has absolutely no grounds, either political or much less moral, for disassociating itself. The trade union is doing everything possible to improve the material situation in education, since we are deeply convinced that the level of personal incomes is disgraceful and that their work and social role are being degraded. If society will not take steps, then the trade union leadership cannot oppose their using a strike to point out to society as a whole the kind of position they are in.

#### Too Many Street Scenes

[Question] If any of the branch republic boards leads the strikes, will the trade union leadership even support it?

This summer, it was precisely the union leadership that criticized the alleged leadership ambitions of the ROS [Republic Trade Union Board] for Education, Science, and Culture.

[Answer] As far as I am concerned, if I can speak on behalf of the leadership, I will support it! Naturally, that is, if it involves extremely justified demands, as in the case of the teachers.

[Question] Does this mean that you personally have no qualms over whether the trade union, regardless of the level, should lead strikes?

[Answer] Not at all, especially since the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution say, "The workers have the right to strike!" Consequently, in this method of struggle the position of the trade union is being changed as well.

[Question] Where is the place of the trade union leadership, together with the president, in the case of more widespread strikes?

[Answer] In principle the position is, always with the workers! Otherwise, the leadership would be generals without an army.

[Question] And on the street?

[Answer] I think that there are too many street scenes. Consequently, they would only pour oil on the fire.

[Question] The economy and those employed in it are at the limit of social and economic endurance. What is the trade union undertaking?

[Answer] Since the economic and social situation is critical, and the political situation is becoming more complicated, one cannot rule out broader dissatisfaction, not just in Croatia, but throughout Yugoslavia. That was the reason why recently we in the VSSJ Presidency did not adopt positions and reach conclusions, but instead, for the first time, expressed several articulated political demands to the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council [FEC] in connection with stimulating production, reducing the burdens on the economy, changing the Law on Wages, etc.

[Question] What is left for the trade union if these political demands are not achieved by acting through the system?

[Answer] It was stated in the Presidency that all the methods available to us would be utilized, and although I insisted on being precise, the Presidency did not take a position on this.

[Question] What do you think those methods should be?

[Answer] Listen, you keep drawing me toward a general strike in Yugoslavia! First of all, the trade union has to



choose completely different working methods to achieve its demands through the system. When everything has been exhausted, then it must resort to the last step—strikes! Nevertheless, reducing the trade union to strikes alone is the road toward its liquidation! The trade union has to be one leg in the system, and one of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution, that the VSSJ can propose appropriate laws governing the position of employees, opens up great opportunities for the trade union to exert more direct influence.

#### The Workers Give Warnings

[Question] The Slovenes are also announcing strikes as a "last step?"

[Answer] My friend Miha Ravnik, if you will permit it to sound sympathetic, got that from me. I stated it in the VSSJ, after Borovo.

[Question] Is a general strike possible?

[Answer] I think that there will be general unrest, regardless of whether it is organized by the trade union, if the situation does not change.

[Question] Shouldn't the trade union guide it, since you are the ones saying that positive unrest in the collectives should be encouraged?

[Answer] If progress is not made, positive unrest should be used so that the trade union itself, perhaps even at all OURs [organizations of associated labor], could organize meetings during breaks in order for the working class to give warnings about the kind of position they are in and what they are seeking.

[Question] And that would be a lead-in to something else?

[Answer] Yes, yes...

[Question] At one time, again after the Borovo strike, you stated that these were the elements of the first phase of a social revolution?

[Answer] I am convinced that that is the case. It is clear from developments among the workers that there is a great deal of dissatisfaction and the voicing of political demands, which are being misused. The thesis has been put forward that the workers do not favor the market and economic reform, because they will end up without work, their lives will be worse, etc. That is a false thesis, aimed at retaining power, and especially power in the political system. The workers are in fact seeking changes in development policy, in the political system, and in the promotion of self-management.

[Question] Can the social unrest threaten the reform?

[Answer] That is also an insidious thesis aimed at buying the workers' confidence in the present status

quo. Economic reform could be threatened by a corrupt social peace and the purchase of the social peace of the employed! In the collectives where there have been strikes, the workers were put in such a socioeconomic position that they no longer knew which way to turn. The collectives were not sufficiently market oriented, and along with large inventories and personnel problems, new development programs were also absent. Consequently, the positive unrest that occurred at Labin, Borovo, and elsewhere should be utilized precisely for changes.

[Question] What is the trade union's attitude toward a specific market for labor?

[Answer] A classical labor market—on one hand, a "bank" of someone who buys, and on the other hand someone who sells labor for hire—cannot exist either in our country or anywhere else in the world, and one should not frighten the workers with this. The first and fundamental principle that the trade union must support is that the existing system which subordinates the employees should be replaced by a system involving the competition of knowledge and ability. That is the first criterion for a labor market. Other principles are associated with the policy of distribution through the minimum personal income along with change in employment policy, the system of education, and change in the position of the trade union, namely, in the distribution policy and in worker retraining, and in the working conditions for employees.

#### Workers' Dinar Being Squandered

[Question] How can the minimum personal income be one of the key criteria for a labor market?

[Answer] The trade union will insist that the changes in the economic system include the minimum personal income, and no longer as a planning category, but as a mandatory distribution category—as a material expenditure or the first fundamental item from income. That means that the cost of labor in a collective should not be below the minimum established in a republic, but it should differ by industry. Currently, as many as 290,000 employees in Croatia, more than a fifth, are not even receiving the minimum OD [personal income] (about 300,000 dinars), and by making this category a mandatory one, the trade union would have different trump cards to play on the position of labor.

[Question] How would it confirm those trump cards in practice?

[Answer] The trade union has to fight to have the minimum OD included in the document—it does not matter whether it is called an agreement or a collective contract—and to fight each year for the minimum cost of labor. This means that there should be a shift from a point-based system to a value-based system of distribution, proceeding from the minimum wage per hour or

day. By way of comparison, the minimum hourly wage in West Germany is 18 marks, while in our country, the average daily wage is 9 marks! The average Croatian wage of 210 marks is 10 times lower than in West Germany, while the productivity ratio is 1:5.5 or 1:6, in their favor. Part of the difference goes to repay debts, but what about the rest of the difference? What inefficiencies is it being squandered on? The employees feel the consequences. With their guaranteed minimum personal incomes they are barely covering living costs until the middle of the month, workers with average incomes are barely making ends meet, and there remains only a small group of employees—not even a fifth, I think—who can live decently.

[Question] Would the new concept of distribution restrict wages?

[Answer] For the highest personal income based on current work, the only limit would be taxation, and it is a matter of convention for that limit to be an incentive. Nevertheless, as far as participation in earned income or profit, and part of the capital formation, is concerned, that part of the earnings can be left quite freely up to the OURs. This would build the autonomy of the OURs, and also the system of distribution, in which the minimum personal income becomes a reliable weapon in the hands of the trade union, because that parameter should also be a turning point in the restructuring of the economy, and a signal that there has to be a change in programs, management, etc., if the minimum personal income cannot even be paid because of a lack of income.

[Question] Will the trade union defend the net income and capital formation of an economy that cannot be restructured by anything?

[Answer] That is an extremely important matter, but it cannot be a fundamental philosophy, because we would consent exclusively to the redistribution of income. The present disbursements are high, and it has to be explained why the outlays for interest are higher than the total net personal income paid.

[Question] Shouldn't the trade union teach the workers how to fight for their own income by force, if they cannot get it peacefully?

[Answer] The key demand that we sent to the Croatian Assembly was to reduce the burden on the economy, and if that is not successful, then I am in favor of other methods. Associated labor should perform a calculation and say, "All right, we can pay so much, but we are stopping the rest!" That cannot be won through strikes, but it can be through various forms of pressure within the system.

#### **Trade Union in the 'Market'**

[Question] The restructuring of the economy and the market will leave many people out of work. Does the trade union consent to being a social assistance center?

[Answer] No. The trade union is not opposed to the restructuring of the economy, but it does not consent to having the workers end up in the street without security until they find a new job. We in the VSSH are working on forming a fund for restructuring the economy and retraining workers, into which resources would be deposited from a redistribution of membership fees, and from the downgrading of some positions.

[Question] The economic reform and the introduction of the market will also require a different trade union, less inert and less embedded in the system. Is the trade union ready for its own "reform"?

[Answer] Of course, the trade union must immediately begin its own reform, since no one knows how it will be reformed. But it must begin, because the membership is demanding it. The key direction of the reform has to do with changing the methods and nature of its work. This applies, above all, to the socioeconomic and social status of employees with respect to the market methods of doing business and within the framework of that strategy of distribution, followed by the development of self-management, the coordination of the differing interests of employees, the class construction of the membership, and especially the trade union's autonomous personnel policy.

[Question] Does the "reform" of the trade union also mean tearing it away from the coattails of the state?

[Answer] Naturally. The trade union must always maintain a critical distance, which does not mean that it has to reject all proposals in advance just because they come from state agencies. The main guideline for the trade union has to be the question, "What does this bring the worker and does it essentially change his position?"

[Question] Is the trade union also prepared to "throw" itself onto the market, even at the cost of being left without a membership? For instance, let's say that starting today, no one is a member; register tomorrow voluntarily.

[Answer] According to one study, 45 percent of the employees really perceive themselves as union members; this is even more favorable than in some other sociopolitical organizations. The trade union has to develop from quantity toward quality. Consequently, there can be no dispute that it has to enthrone the principle of voluntary membership.

[Question] Do you agree with the assessment that tomorrow's trade union depends on what the trade union is like today?

[Answer] Absolutely, since otherwise distrust in the leadership will spread more and more among the membership, possibly resulting in various forms of independent union organization.

**[Question]** In conclusion, what message would you send to the membership?

**[Answer]** The trade union leadership backs all justified demands voiced by the membership, seeking changes in their own economic and social position. Let positive unrest be introduced in all organizations, with demands

for changes in accordance with the market method of operation. The trade union will not only support such demands; the proponents of this positive unrest must be "union members," and especially the trade union leadership!

**9909**



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Building of Nuclear Power Station in Mechovce Discussed

**Construction of Housing, Social Facilities**  
24000144 Kosice VYCHODOSLOVENSKE NOVINY  
in Slovak 27 May 88 p 4

[Article by Bozena Grosikova and Emilia Uvirova: "Construction of Nuclear Power Station in East Slovakia Means More Changes Than Only in Power," with the subheads "Cornerstone in 1992—Important Effect on Infrastructure—Apartments, Schools, Health, and Recreation-Rehabilitation Facilities—New Job Opportunities"]

[Text] The discrepancy between the production and consumption of electricity in the East Slovak kraj is expected to reach about 1,300 MW by the year 2000. The current deficit is almost 230 MW. This situation in the electrification system of the kraj is the reason a nuclear power station is to be built.

Associated with its development, state, political, and economic planning agencies are interested not only in its ecological impact but also in a broad spectrum of socio-economic problems of which we would like to mention the most important.

We point out that the information we are presenting is not yet definite because the final investment concept of the nuclear power station project will not be known until the third quarter of this year.

The construction of this large investment complex with an output of 2 x 1,000 MW should start in 1992 in Kecerovce, the Kosice-suburbs okres, and should be completed in 10 to 12 years. The developers of this project will have to provide, among other things, suitable housing which will include appropriate cultural and social amenities. It is expected that at the peak of the construction period (in 8-10 years) about 11,300 persons will be working at the site. About 3,000 of these will come from the surrounding area and will not be entitled to housing. It is expected that the rest of the workers will live in Kosice and Presov. Housing needs of the operational personnel of the East Slovak nuclear power station are based on the assumption that the first unit will become operational in the year 2000 and the second 2 years later, at which time 1,997 persons would be employed in normal operations. It is expected that most of the employees will be young people from the East Slovak kraj. About 15 percent of the workers will have no entitlement to housing. For the remaining employees, including those in educational and social programs and suppliers' repair services, apartments with an average 3 plus 1 size in the form of cooperative standard construction are planned. This means 1,500 apartment units in Kosice and Presov. Of these 150 will be reserve apartments which are expected to be built in Kralovce or alternatively in Bidovce.

In addition, hotel construction with a capacity of 800 beds is being considered in Kosice-Kosicka Nova Ves including the area of the public power center.

Housing locations are based on the assumption that a drive to work should not take over 45 minutes. For this reason the most suitable transportation seems to be by CSAD [Czechoslovak Vehicular Transportation] bus along the main Kosice-Presov highway. Road connections will be made by a new route in the direction of the extension of the highway leading from Kosice to the area of the future express highway cross-road D-I near Budimir.

The nuclear station area will be connected to the railroad network from Krasna nad Hornadom. It is expected that in the years of most intensive construction, the feeding of 9,000 persons around the clock will have to be done either by producing hot meals in the station's own kitchens or by bringing them in from a central kitchen in Presov.

In addition, setting up a network of food stores at the construction site selling fruit and vegetables, also snack bars with refreshments, etc. is anticipated. The most suitable way to provide meals for the operational personnel is thought to be factory cafeterias which will have to take care of 2,600 persons. So it is expected that a central dining hall with a capacity of 1,560 customers will be built.

In spite of the relatively good health facilities within a radius of 30 kilometers from the nuclear power station, a plant health center in its vicinity, which should be operating 2 years before completion of the first unit, is to be built. Within the framework of the radiation prevention program for workers a center for radiation medicine is being planned, a component of which will be a laboratory for determining internal contamination of personnel, including a whole body computer. A component of the sickness prevention care of the station workers will be a year around rehabilitation-recreation facility, which was recommended to be built in the southern part of the Slovak raj [Paradise] in Dedinky with a total capacity of 200 beds. The workers during the time of construction are not forgotten either. Along with construction of the power station, a medical first-aid station will be started. In the areas of high density housing (Kosice and Presov) a health service facility with a capacity of 160 beds will be established.

Because construction of the nuclear station will result in an increase of mostly young workers in the given area, in fact, about 5,000, a greater demand for preschool facilities in Kosice, Presov and Kralovce and possibly in Bidovce is expected. This means about 50 spaces in nursery schools and about 162 in kindergartens. There will be greater demand for primary school spaces.

On the basis of recent experiences and information from construction sites of similar projects in the CSSR, it is estimated that jobs for about 1,470 wives of nuclear station

workers will have to be provided, of whom about 235 will have highly specialized training—in education or health. It is expected that some of the wives will find work directly at the station, in the social program and in technical-management and as labor. Other possibilities of work will be offered by the development of industry in Kosice and Presov.

**Mochovce Manager Interviewed on Problems**  
*24000144 Bratislava HLAS LUDU in Slovak*  
1 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview with Martin Spirek, director of the nuclear power station in Mochovce, following the CPSL Kraj Conference, by unnamed reporter: "Attempting To Overcome Problems"; date not given]

[Text] One of the important building projects which is specifically based on resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress is construction of the nuclear power station in Mochovce and rendering it operational. An important factor in the overall investment process in such an extensive project is implementation of suitable forms of political work concerning the organizational and control activity of party organizations and also influencing the development of workers' initiative and providing social amenities. This is not easy, given the heterogeneous political, mental, working and social make-up of the workers on the project. Still, all efforts in Mochovce are concentrated on adhering to the building schedule.

[Question] Comrade Director, the public is relatively well informed about the successes and problems of recent years connected with our next nuclear power station. It is hard to say which year of the construction is the most critical but perhaps it looks like the year 1988?

[Answer] The tasks in the construction of the electric power station are substantially more demanding this year. The state plan calls for allotting an amount of Kcs 3,847,000,000 connected with the project of which not quite 1.5 billion is for construction. If we are talking about how this year should and must be decisive, then we mean the gradual delivery of building readiness for the first unit, including elimination of the production stoppages of last year so that the assembly work can fully develop and we can begin activating and testing the system of actual consumption of electricity at the units of the water [cooling] and other auxiliary systems to fully assure construction of the other units of the power station.

[Question] Is this concern matched by the course of the work?

[Answer] I must say frankly that up to now the record for meeting tasks and deadlines is not positive. So far we have not managed to eliminate slippages and in some cases there have even been further delays. The main reason for this state of affairs may be attributed to inadequate and delayed fulfillment of commitments made by higher agencies, especially in the area of labor

by building contractors. A joint review with Hydrostav, the central project contractor, concluded that the number of workers must be increased by about 1,200. Furthermore, there is the matter of minor mechanization projects, lack of crack detectors and spare parts for mechanical equipment. There is a shortage of cement, bricks, scaffolding, miscellaneous hardware and a significant delay in delivery of wall panels, aluminum windows and other supplies. Deliveries of engineering products, especially from the Kralovopolske engineering works in Brno are delayed. The unfavorable situation persists also in the area of design blueprints, especially due to frequent changes and additions. If these problems are not resolved at once we not only cannot be expected to overcome the slippages but, on the contrary, they will increase, which would seriously hamper meeting the deadlines for placing the first unit into operation.

[Question] These are quite a few problems for a project monitored by the government. One hopes that shifting the capacities and deliveries from other installations to the first unit, as decided by the construction management, will at least temporarily help bridge the unfavorable situation. But we know that the nuclear power plant also has a positive side.

[Answer] I consider making use of the experienced technicians, foremen and workers from earlier nuclear energy projects as a positive feature as well as the broad application of innovations, and scientific and technical findings in developing the structural portion. This is one of the factors with which we are overcoming these deficiencies, even though their main goal and objective should be to raise the given standard of construction.

[Question] According to the plan, the number of builders at the power station in Mochovce this year should reach a respectable figure—10,000. Such a number of people implies that there will be at least good, if not excellent, amenities available for them.

[Answer] The Construction Site Committee of the CPSL, the Trade Union Council and the project management last year drew up and agreed upon an amenities program. It covered the areas of housing, transportation, procurement, provisioning and health services. In March of this year we put this program into operation. But there are problems, especially in providing food. Also unresolved is the housing problem which, it was hoped, would aid the recruitment and stabilization of workers for supplier organizations and operations. Of course we were talking about amenities offered at the construction site but what I want to say has a broader application in the social sphere.

In connection with better utilization of the energy potential of the Mochovce Nuclear Power Station, relative to its ecological aspects, the Eighth 5-Year Plan included the construction of thermal feeders at Mochovce-Levice beginning in 1989 and Mochovce-Vrable-Nitra beginning in 1990. In a review of projects begun in this 5-year plan, the central agencies, following the limitation on

newly started construction, eliminated both these projects from the Eighth 5-Year Plan in spite of their preparedness which is certainly detrimental to the national economy in losing this potentially great source of power and waste heat. Especially palpable is this decision for the city of Levice where secondary distribution and consumption arrangements had been made for delivery of heat from Mochovce.

[Question] As in every project, in every enterprise, commensurate with the size and extent of the project, the party organization at the Mochovce Nuclear Power Station also has an important role in organizational and control activities. Can you tell us concisely about the form and method of party work at the construction site?

[Answer] All building organizations are represented in the CPSL Construction Site Committee. Party work takes into account not only internal problems and relations in the construction area but also integration with party organizations and economic management of project participants in the whole state. The party committee selected in its work, among others, a form of single-theme sessions on specific problems of the project preparation, execution of the structural and technological parts and social problems. But equally, the extended sessions of the party construction site committee and its economic commission as well as a form of direct cooperation with party committees of supplier and production organizations outside the area of the power station, appear to be effective in resolving problems at the construction site. Party inspection days organized by the West Slovak Kraj Committee of the CPSL also have their important place as well as other forms and methods of party work.

We know that there are many problems at the project and we are trying to resolve them. I can assure you that the whole collective wants to overcome the current unfavorable situation at the project and meet its construction tasks this year while maintaining the highest quality.

[Question] Thank you, Comrade Director, for the interview.

8491/6091

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

**Robotron Introduces Latest Line of Computer Hardware, Software**  
23000007a Hamburg DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT in German 28 Aug 88 p 13

[Text] Robotron is the developer, manufacturer, and exporter of high-performance computer technology, office equipment and electronic measuring equipment. Robotron supplies hardware and software ranging from

the electronic typewriter through terminals all the way to complex information systems for economical computer performance at the work station with office and personal computers, from CAD/CAM systems to computer-assisted control of complicated technological processes.

The manufacturing program is supplemented by products in radio relay equipment, home entertainment electronics and technological equipment. The development and supply of operating system software, standard software and industry segment software is of special importance. In addition, Robotron is emerging as the general supplier for training cabinets, test laboratories and service installations for electronic measuring equipment. Services on the technical and software side of customer service as well as the training and continuing development of technicians, software specialists, system analysts and managers are as much a part of Robotron's range of capabilities as contract programming and preparing complex application solutions.

The results of research and development are distributed as licenses, expertise and user rights. Engineering services from Robotron include consulting as well as the turnkey turnover of computer centers and the implementation of application solutions.

The robotron EC 1834 is another powerful 16-bit computer from the VEB Robotron combine. It is compatible with the computer systems of leading international suppliers. Different terminal versions are offered in addition to the stand alone equipment. The robotron EC 1834 system unit includes the central unit with the 16-bit microprocessor. The main working memory has a 640K capacity. It is possible to use an arithmetic processor. Two to four floppy disk drives, each with 720K (formatted), or a 5-and-1/4-inch hard disk memory with a 40K capacity serve as external memories. The loadable character set has more than 252 characters available. The color graphic monitors are equipped with a high-resolution mode of 640 X 480 dots for CAD systems. It can be completed with an alphanumeric and a graphic monitor in a dual screen configuration.

Interface conditions for additional robotron peripherals, such as printers, plotters, graphics table, and digitalization equipment have been worked out.

The full capacity of the robotron EC 1834 is opened up through the broad palette of special and universal software of high compatibility, particularly the system software. DCP is a disk and diskette oriented universal operating system. It is suitable for the commercial sector and also for software development.

MUTOS is a versatile multitask operating system which allows multiuser operation. Typical uses are software development, setting up documents, research and development tasks and so on.



Compilers and interpreters make it possible to translate or run programs written in standard/common languages. Robotron offers compilers and/or interpreters for the following standard languages: Basic, Pascal-T, Fortran 77, and Modula 2.

An extensive package of standard software is available for the robotron 1834:

- word processing system
- data bank system
- spreadsheet analysis system
- business graphics
- information inquiry systems
- integrated program packages

Robotron also offers software components for remote data transmission and the MULTICAD universal software package specially for (developing) two and three-dimensional drawings. High performance, coupled with extensive software, open up diverse possibilities for using the EC 1834 personal computer:

- business administration/office automation
- engineering tasks
- software development
- CAD/CAM tasks
- measured data acquisition and processing

As a piece of stand alone equipment or as one version of a terminal in a complex solution—the robotron EC 1834 personal computer is an expert in many fields.

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## POLAND

**'Metronex' Official on Soviet Trade, Branch Office, Export Possibilities**  
26000007 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
5 Aug 88 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Konstanty Zdanski, director, 'Metronex' delegation in Moscow, by Henryk Chadzynski, permanent correspondent in USSR: "From Distributor to the Market;" date and place not given]

[Text]

[Question] Your last regional office in the USSR was in Leningrad. Why do you place so much importance on the growth of a network of trade and service?

[Answer] This simply comes from the nature of the commerce we are involved in. Computer equipment and especially assortments of computer systems require constant maintenance, user training and care to see that the systems are used in the right work environment. Operating personnel must also be properly trained. Finally, maintenance must be correctly handled and whenever the client needs it, he should be able to count on

technical assistance. All these services together with the necessary equipment quality and reliability gives our clients the guarantee that he can fully trust us. He knows that he can call us up at any time for consultation or technical assistance.

In the case of knowledge-intensive products like computers, measurement equipment and computer systems, one can maintain a lasting position on the market only through an extensive network of service and this is especially true when one sees how much the market has changed recently.

[Question] But is service the only function of your centers in the USSR?

[Answer] This network also plays an important role in informing potential and actual clients and in promoting the use of computers. At our centers, our actual and potential clients learn about trends in the computer industry and the ways in which the industry is growing. We can also display new products and, even more importantly, show clients how systems can be adapted to their own needs.

[Question] Why was your latest office opened in Leningrad?

[Answer] We are trying to organize our facilities wherever sales are the highest. Leningrad is one such place and furthermore, from there we can also serve neighboring areas.

[Question] You have been working in the Soviet Union for over 35 years. From this point of view, how do you evaluate the changes that have taken place in the trade of such goods as computers and measurement equipment?

[Answer] This has been an enormous process of change. And not only has the scale of our activities changed. Our exports have increased fourfold and reached a level of about 80 billion zlotys. Metronex now sells the Soviet Union more goods than the Polish shipbuilding industry and it has taken a leading place among investment goods exchanges.

The changes of our role in this market are important as well as those of our partner. At one time, our role was simply that of a distributor. We have provided whatever was agreed upon in signed agreements. Everything, both quality and quantity was determined from above, even the character, parameters and prices of our products. Now the trade is normal and it is the immediate user who has the say-so and everything is guided by calculation. Profit-and-loss considerations tell the user what he needs and make him look for the best product at the lowest price. It is definitely a buyer's market.

[Question] People say that the technical demands in this field are growing. How is that manifested?

[Answer] For instance, our computer systems were sent for research in the specialist institution of a committee in the USSR studying the problems of standardization. For more than a year, they were tested very extensively and passed those tests. The same is true of many other products. The client demands exact fulfillment of technical specifications and tries to predict what tomorrow's requirements will be.

[Question] As importers, are we just as demanding?

[Answer] There have also been changes in our own attitude, especially now that our balance of payments requires us to try to export more than we import. We therefore try to buy only what we need most or what we must have to complete our export production. For that reason, we too have high demands. We organize specialized quality research once we receive goods so we can check whether they really fulfill the specifications on the contract.

[Question] What will determine the future of your export sales?

[Answer] Above all, technological progress but the components we use will also be important. This is a general problem for all other CEMA nations too. As we now know, once programs of technical progress are worked out, a real effort is made to catch up with the rest of the world in deed as well as in word. For us, the fundamental problem is not so much the question of newer designs but most of all the electronic components that are the building blocks of our products. They are what determine whether a built component will achieve the specifications set by the new generation of technology. This is very difficult but I think that strong progress is something we cannot do without, especially when the competition is markedly growing.

[Question] What sort of business will you be doing in the future?

[Answer] Despite the problems caused by our limited base of electronic components, we are already trying to think of how to make further progress in improving our entire business infrastructure. And we are not working in a barren field. We have a good brand and good products to offer, especially our computer systems. We are therefore trying to do everything to show the good value of this equipment and take advantage of various occasions such as scientific and technical events.

Our centers help us in this. After all, we have buyers all over the USSR and our equipment is used under various climatic conditions from the hot south to the cold north. That is why we place such great emphasis on building up our business facilities and our technical and business center in Moscow. I hope that this year we will be able to move to a headquarters that can really make things happen. Aside from our offices in Kiev, Novosibirsk and the latest one in Leningrad as well as our workshop at the nuclear studies center in Dubno, we want to set up offices in Minsk, Lvov and Baku.

Of course, even if we do broaden our network, we still will not be able to fully cover such a large area and our offices will have to work with Soviet partners to perform the needed services. However, this cooperation has so far worked out well.

Business therefore constitutes an indispensable infrastructure for sales and service and it is important that it profit from progress in production. We are already seeing growing interest in equipment that best suits diverse needs. We are trying to follow the signals received from our clients and for that reason, we think that we will be able to beat the competition which has its own good points too. In sum, we see the transition to business methods as a great opportunity that will give us direct contacts with our buyers and allow us to better consider their wishes and take long-term measures.

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

**Scholar Traces Structural Change in Population**  
23000017 Bonn DAS PARLAMENT (AUS POLITIK  
UND ZEITGESCHICHTE Supplement) in German  
B32/88 5 Aug 88 pp 13-19

[Article by Prof Dr Manfred Loetsch, head of a research department at the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology of the SED CC's Academy for Social Sciences in East Berlin: "The GDR's Social Structure—Continuity and Change"]

[Text]

### I. Outlines of the Problem

Let us define the overarching conception underlying social structure research as the "structure-function paradigm" according to which structures neither exist, nor can be described in isolation as separate modalities. They fulfill overarching systemic functions and thus can solely be understood within the context of these functions. There are at least two consequences arising from this state of affairs.

First, this way of looking at things makes it plain that many disputes over theory are the result of wrong questions. Questions relating to class theory or structural theory, for example, are not really true and false questions but are simply based on different levels of perception. On the one hand, it would be impossible to try to offer a reductionist, two-dimensional class model explanation for the multiplicity of social differences in modern society. But by the same token, it would be problematical to resort to status or structural analysis to answer the question of whether there are any large social groups whose socioeconomic characteristics, interests and attitudes are directly responsible for basic social structures and dominant historical processes. When Marxism speaks of the ruling classes in this sense, it is not simply referring to an "upper upper class" but to a clearly defined social group which is in a position to make its class interests prevail because of its specific station within the social system, particularly with regard to the ownership of the means of production. Even at the risk of being called "simple-minded" (by Ralf Dahrendorf), I am unable to deny the validity of this argument although it should be clearly separated from any attempt to explain each and every phenomenon relating to social differences as an mobility pattern of class structure.

Secondly, (which is of greater importance for this article) theoretical viewpoints and arguments both tend to change along with social requirements. That might sound strange to some Western sociologists but it provides a clearer idea of our perception of sociology. For us, analyses and the generalizations arising from them always represent an expression of efforts on the part of society to exercise practical influence over development processes on the basis of proper information.

In this sense, the structure-function paradigm leads us to the profoundly practical question, i.e., derived from priority objectives: which are the chief social developments that are desirable? To what extent do previously existing structures fulfill the requisite systemic functions? What structural changes are needed in order to do justice to desired mobility patterns and developmental features of society?

The key word above is "priority objectives." Any structural analysis which goes beyond mere description must be prepared to pose and to answer overarching questions. As expressions of continuity, structures fulfill system-stabilizing functions; as expressions of change, they represent factors of development. Behind all this, in the final analysis, lies the problem of progress, i.e., the question of the ways in which structures and structural developments are related to the dominant values and the attitudes toward progress in a given society. In that sense, the sociologist is not merely concerned with interests as the objects of his research but is himself directed by certain interests, depending on the value system to which he subscribes. To take a somewhat provocative example, someone whose paramount value is profit maximization will consider different structures desirable from someone who assigns a higher value to social justice. This is a first indication of the fact that we are dealing with problems that concern central issues affecting the relationship between scientific-technological progress and social progress.

Following these general observations, let us now turn to the main point. Present-day socialist society (not just in the GDR) has two overriding concerns (priority objectives). On the one hand, having overcome traditional class disparities, socialism defines itself as a society which aims to do away with residual social differences—not just between classes and strata of society but also between intellectual and physical labor, between city and country and, ultimately, with all the social conditions which can be subsumed under the heading of "social inequality." In the seventies and in the eighties in particular, as is well known, our countries have precisely defined the precepts which underlie the creation of a society characterized by social equality—without setting aside or leaving to future generations the actual goal of equality. They continue to be the subject of topical efforts, e.g., with regard to lower levels of material existence; major differences in the content and the conditions of work; major disparities in the level of development of different territories, etc. Our conceptual thinking has changed in the sense that topical goals and requirements have been incorporated in a more differentiated and realistic manner in more large-scale historical precepts. The second point to be made is that there is a correlation between social structure and the economic efficiency of any given social system. Broadly speaking, it is tied to the social system's capacity for economic growth and in a more narrow sense on its capacity for innovation. Consequently, the priority objectives we have been looking for can easily be listed



under two headings, i.e., in socialist society, the development of the social structure is subject to (a) equality goals and (b) efficiency requirements.

This is the very juncture at which the problem arises. It definitely seems as though the two criteria do not automatically tend in the same direction. They create a field of tension which can initially be more easily defined in the global context than within socialist society itself but which also operates there, albeit in different ways and in a different social climate. Let us first look at the global dimensions. Stratification strategies such as are followed more or less assiduously in most capitalist industrial countries whose guiding principles are pretty well defined by the concepts of elitism and discrimination can scarcely be called "socially pleasing." At the same time, however, it cannot be denied that they are effective. In any event, they create the pressure to perform as well as a dynamic economy. Internal problems of socialism cannot be seen outside this global context. While conceptual thinkers of present-day conservatism tend to legitimize social inequality as a condition for freedom with astounding insouciance, i.e., "freedom vs. equality," Marxist sociology in the socialist countries feels an obligation to pursue equality goals and is simultaneously subjected to the requirements of efficiency. In summarizing up to this point, this is the crux of the matter. The way in which thinking has proceeded in this regard is characteristic for the development of social structure research in the GDR.

## II. Old and New Questions of Social Structure Research: Continuity and Change

Empirical work on the analysis of social structures began in the GDR in the late sixties. Readers will find summaries of the development of conceptual thinking on this subject above all in the publications issued at the conclusion of sociological congresses. The first such congress<sup>1</sup> concentrated on the search for relevant statements of the problem and for methodological and statistical-methodical principles of class analysis<sup>2</sup> and, within this context, on the discussion of the characteristics, the scope and the quantitative determination of classes and strata of society.<sup>3</sup>

During the second stage of development, things began to take more definite shape.<sup>4</sup> An attempt was made to combine empirical findings of a representative study of the structure of the working class with postpositive conceptual questions.<sup>5</sup> In going beyond the empirical identification of social differences, the central theme of these discussions was the relationship between social equality and social differences, focusing on their objective causes and the relevant theoretical criteria for evaluating them. These discussions took place in an era in which it was not at all considered certain that major social differences are relatively stable and in many instances even persistent phenomena. In fact, the dominant perception was that once the traditional class

structures had been overcome, all other social differences would disappear in relatively short order. This research made it plain that a second factor had to be taken into account in addition to "property relationships," i.e., the social division of labor. This not only resulted in more fundamental insights into the long-term durability of social differences but in a more far-reaching generalization, i.e., that the differentiation factor in socialist society is no longer represented by the "property and class" axis but by the "vertical and horizontal division of labor, intellectual level of work, education and qualification" axis.

As of the late seventies, a new development began to take shape which may fittingly be called a fundamental change in conceptual thinking. Until then, social disparities were more or less summarily viewed as negative phenomena. The relevant discourse focused for the most part on how and, for that matter, how soon they could be overcome. Over time, we came to realize that the subject matter we were dealing with was far more complicated than we had thought. Consequently, the third sociology congress tried to deal with the dialectics of social equality and social disparity as equally relevant characteristics of the life style of a socialist society.<sup>6</sup> After lengthy debates,<sup>7</sup> a general consensus took shape the main points of which can be summarized as follows:<sup>8</sup>

First, the objective itself is to be kept free of simplifications and/or such simplifications are to be removed wherever they already exist. Social equality and uniformity are two completely different concepts. The goal must not be to create a society in which living conditions, life styles and so forth are reduced to a common denominator but a society which offers equality of opportunity for development and for living and thus does not rule out but in fact is predicated on pluralism.<sup>9</sup>

Secondly, within the context of the entire social disparity phenomenon, we need to distinguish between different factors which are the external manifestations of various hidden problems. These include (a) structural consistency, i.e., the extent to which various factors of social status interact; (b) the existence of differences in levels; the functional and dysfunctional operation of social disparities.

Thirdly, the identification of different problem conditions results in different social strategies apart from the all-inclusive idea of viewing the extent to which sameness as such is achieved as the predominant criterion of progress in socialist societies.

A. Social inequality resulting from the contrast between consistently unfavorable living conditions on the one side and more favorable ones on the other cannot simply be overcome through a leveling-down process but only through raising the lower of the two levels or eliminating the reproduction mechanisms responsible for such disparities. Concrete examples of such social problems

include lower levels of material living conditions; physically dangerous and intellectually undemanding work; lower opportunities for education in real terms (in the presence of institutional equality of opportunity) for children from families with inferior education and skills; unfavorable (problematical) housing and the like.<sup>10</sup>

B. Below level A (which must not be evaluated on the basis of efficiency), nonoptimal structures (structural defects) may become operative as (a) dysfunctional disparities and (b) dysfunctional leveling-down processes. This problem is characterized by two basic directions in which deviations from the performance principle may (and in fact often do) occur, i.e., differences in income and premiums that are based on factors other than performance as well as income and premium uniformities which do not take performance as such into account. Dysfunctional structures of this kind must be transformed into functional differences provided that this transformation does not result in the reproduction of conditions of inequality, as enumerated under (A) above.

C. Social peculiarities which do not or do not necessarily include disparities in the level of living conditions not only do not present an alternative to equality objectives but are in fact responsible for their outer manifestation. To give an example: even if living conditions in the country are not necessarily worse than in the city but simply different, equality goals can readily be combined with the preservation of the specifics of the one or the other type of community and the life style peculiar to it.

Thus the simplistic proposition "the fewer the differences, the better" needs to be replaced by a far more sophisticated analytical and evaluation concept which permits us to identify every type of social differentiation and to devise strategies for resolving it. It is in the nature of things that this is more difficult than to rely on all-inclusive evaluations based on clichés. But there simply is no other way of resolving the thorny question of how development potentials can be activated both through the implementation of fundamental social values such as equality, justice and social security and the manifestation of functional differences.<sup>11</sup>

The origins of the changes in conceptual thinking in the late seventies and early eighties which I have outlined here cannot be traced to internal developments within the sociological community. There were two major factors responsible for it.

Like other industrialized nations, the GDR switched to a different type of growth pattern in the seventies, i.e., to intensively expanded reproduction. This change was accompanied by a transformation of the developmental trends of our social structure. Our manpower potential is no longer growing because the sole source available in the face of a decline in total population<sup>12</sup>, i.e., the increasing number of women in the workplace, is now exhausted. At the same time, growth in the manpower potential in industry or the service sector at the expense

of agriculture is no longer possible either. Between the fifties and seventies the skills potential expanded dramatically. The ratio between unskilled/retrained workers, skilled workers and workers with a vocational or academic background which stood at 75:23:2 in the late forties presently stands at 15:64:21. But at this stage, the skills profile is changing only to the extent that older members of the work force are retiring and younger workers are taking their place. Since the midseventies, the above ratio as it applies to each age group in training has remained constant at 10:65:21.<sup>13</sup>

Within the context of the overall theme we are dealing with here, there would seem to be two especially important conclusions to be drawn from these stabilization trends. First, the end of extensive structural trends and the end of difference-reducing processes go hand in hand. Reduced to the present minimum which is not likely to be lowered in the foreseeable future, less education and inferior skills continue to be factors in the social disparity picture. Secondly, it behooves us to pose questions regarding efficiency in an entirely different way. As long as resources can be expanded continuously, gaps in efficiency can be corrected. (This not only applies to skills and not only to the GDR. One need only think of the global misconceptions regarding the supposed inexhaustibility of energy resources.)

In the seventies at the latest it became clear (along with the realization that there were limits to growth) how great a challenge the scientific-technological revolution posed to the GDR. The pace of this process is determined by the general laws governing the development of productive forces; in the first instance by the permanent interaction between basic innovation, diffusion and the perfection of basic technology principles in conjunction with increased practical application of them. For this reason we were forced to rethink the consequences of this new challenge for us.

### III. Development of Intelligentsia: Elitism or Leveling Down

The crucial aspect of this new growth concept is the altered role played by science. The dimensions of the new questions are enlarged by the fact that the GDR (along with other socialist countries) is confronted with substantial blockades (e.g., COCOM) to technology transfer which in turn increases the importance of the development and utilization of our own scientific potential.<sup>14</sup> Natural science and technology, one might say, have become outstanding factors for economic growth. Their development is crucial for economic growth and social progress (which do not automatically coincide) to an entirely different extent than under conditions of preponderantly extensive growth.

This new social context resulted in new priorities in the formulation of sociological issues—above all in research programs dealing with the structure of society. Previously, sociology had focused its attention on the development of



the working class and the peasants. This was only logical, one might say, since these two large social groupings were undergoing the most change at that time, i.e., between the fifties and seventies.<sup>15</sup> We were particularly interested in those processes which we classify as "social rapprochement," referring to the gradual lessening of class differences within society. For that matter, these trends led us to believe in a linear, short-term reduction of social differences as such.

One conclusion to which this line of thinking led us was that the development of the intelligentsia also depended on overcoming the differences between it and the working class as speedily as possible. This was by not just a misperception. With regard to the intelligentsia left over from the former society we were of course dealing with far-reaching changes, e.g., equality of opportunity and social mobility. With regard to the development of education and skills our focus was on the working class for a variety of reasons, e.g., because the influx of the farm population and the rising number of women joining the work force made it incumbent on us to overcome the inferior aptitude levels in a historically brief period of time and because we realized that the traditional work force consisting of 75 percent unskilled and retrained workers in 1949 would be unable to cope with the development of science and technology and its applications in the material production process.

Today, we can see how right we were in not concentrating on the expansion of academic education alone. High technology, e.g., flexible manufacturing systems, results neither in a diminishing need for skills, nor in assigning the dominant role in material production to college-trained engineers. Existing structures serve high technology quite well: Skilled workers are still dominant in the field of material producers although their training and occupational profile has changed. Members of the work force with a science background, on the other hand, continue to concentrate on preproduction skills, from R&D to process application. But since the pace of the production process is determined at the top, i.e., by the scientific groundwork, the questions relating to the development of the intelligentsia are constantly becoming more important from a social point of view and thus more interesting from the standpoint of sociology.

We are not just talking about intelligence in the broad sense of clear conceptual understanding but about the social standard bearers of scientific progress. To cite a few statistics, the GDR has a little over 1 percent of the world scientific potential, which clearly exceeds its share of the world population. It also has more than twice as many engineers and engineering diplomates per 1,000 workers than the FRG.<sup>16</sup> As of the midseventies, there were 128 members of the science community, including 42 scientists in the narrow sense of the word, per 10,000 population in the European CEMA member nations. In the FRG, the corresponding numbers were 67 and 17.<sup>17</sup> For every 10,000 inhabitants, the GDR has 54 men and women working on R&D at universities and technical

schools. The corresponding figures for other countries are as follows: United States, 25; Japan, 29; FRG, 17; England, 14; Sweden, 20, and France, 12.<sup>18</sup> Altogether, about 30 percent of the world's scientists are at work in the CEMA countries.

Although these figures may contain some methodical inaccuracies because education systems are far from easy to compare, they do provide a fairly good idea of the general outlines of the problem, i.e., that the size of the potential and its efficiency do not coincide. For another thing, demographic trends tend to rule out any further increase in the number of individuals engaged in scientific projects.

Against this background we have had to rethink the equality-efficiency problem. We found that one cause of the dichotomy between the size of the science potential and its limited efficiency lay in nonoptimal structures of the dysfunctional leveling-down variety, i.e., with regard to distribution relationships and the requirements of the performance principle; with regard to insufficient definition of the functional and social specificities of scientific work (such as the influence of certain functional principles followed by big industry in dealing with scientific processes, superimposition of extraneous elements on scientific projects and so forth) and, finally, with regard to a complex matrix of living conditions and value systems. In the final analysis, the problem affects the entire scientific community and culminates in the social mechanisms by way of which the creative core or top level of the GDR's scientific intelligentsia (numbering between 20-30,000 persons) is formed and reproduced. Our conclusions may be summarized as follows: a scientific intelligentsia producing above average results cannot be had in the absence of social differentiations.

As is well known, these ideas (which have only been presented in outline form here) have met with remarkable response in Western professional journals and daily newspapers (particularly in the FRG). The reactions ranged from conservative delight about the fact that the GDR was at length turning in the direction of elitism to anxious questions about whether the emphasis on the social characteristics of the intelligentsia did not mark a return to privilege which in turn would inevitably do harm to basic socialist values.

These are misunderstandings, whatever their motivation. For one thing, the focus is on different relationships of size and scope which are specific to socialism. The implementation of the performance principle calls for the award of different premiums commensurate with actual performance but not of the scale characteristic of certain high-tech research fields, not to mention top management, in Western countries. The question of what is appropriate is not a subject for intellectual speculation but will be resolved by the overarching social system of values. If the principle of just reward is used as a guideline, then differences not based on performance or lesser premiums which do not take the performance principle into account could be viewed as unjust.



Second, it is sometimes said that social peculiarities is just another word for privilege. That is not the case. When specific social groups perform specific functions as part of the social division of labor, then the special social characteristics necessary for the performance of such functions serve an instrumental purpose and are not conducive to social inequality. Every social group requires the working and living conditions which enable it to do justice to the specific function it performs within the context of society as a whole. To take a simple example: No one would think of considering a farmer privileged because he owns his own home and the working man does not. Why then should a scientist be considered privileged, if specific working conditions, e.g., space for creative work, international communication, and so on, are part of the functional requirements of his job? We are talking, in other words, of functionally conditioned specificities and not of unearned privileges.

Third, and most importantly, the identification of the special social requirements of the scientific intelligentsia must be seen in an entirely different social context. In a society which discriminates against certain groups and turns them into victims of rationalization and in which certain educational opportunities (e.g., at Stanford or at Harvard University) are open only to persons of a certain social status, the concentrated development of a community of scientific top achievers may justifiably be called elitist. But this is by no means the case in situations where social security is successfully protected as an indivisible basic principle; where social equality in educational opportunities is successfully guaranteed on the basis of legal and institutional guidelines and where technological change succeeds in reducing the number of intellectually undemanding jobs. All this must at least be taken into account so as to keep from drawing the wrong conclusions from the identification of the special social requirements of the intelligentsia.

#### Footnotes

1. "Soziologie im Sozialismus" [Sociology under Socialism], Berlin 1970.
2. Ibid., p. 402ff.
3. "Zur Sozialstruktur der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [The Social Structure of Socialist Society], Berlin, 1974.
4. "Soziologische Probleme der Klassenentwicklung in der DDR" [Sociological Problems of Class Development in the GDR], Berlin, 1975.
5. Loetsch, Manfred, "Ueber die soziale Struktur der Arbeiterklasse" [The Social Structure of the Working Class], *ibid.*, p. 89ff.
6. "Lebensweise und Sozialstruktur" [Life Style and Social Structure], Berlin, 1981.
7. More on this same subject in Loetsch, Manfred, "Sozialstruktur und Wirtschaftswachstum" [Social Structure and Economic Growth] in *WIRTSCHAFTS-WISSENSCHAFT*, No 1, 1980; Freitag, Joachim and Manfred Loetsch, "Sozialstruktur und soziale Mobilität" [Social Structure and Social Mobility] in *Jahrbuch fuer Soziologie und Sozialpolitik* 1981, Berlin, 1981, p. 84f; Meier, Arthur, "Bildung im Prozess der sozialen Annäherung und Reproduktion der Klassen und Schichten" [Education as Part of the Process of Social Rapprochement and Reproduction of Classes and Social Strata], *ibid.*, p. 116ff; Loetsch, Manfred and Gerhard Woerner, "Materielle Lebensbedingungen und Annäherungsprozesse" [Material Living Conditions and Processes of Rapprochement] in *Jahrbuch fuer Soziologie und Sozialpolitik* 1983, Berlin, 1983, p. 161ff.
8. A more detailed description of this concept is contained in Loetsch, Ingrid and Manfred Loetsch, "Soziale Strukturen und Triebkräfte: Versuch einer Zwischenbilanz und Weiterführung der Diskussion" [Social Structures and Motivations: Drawing Up an Interim Balance Sheet and Contributing to the Ongoing Debate] in *Jahrbuch fuer Soziologie und Sozialpolitik* 1985, Berlin, 1985, p. 159ff.
9. This is in line with the well-known dictum by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels that the goal is a society "in which the free development of the individual is a condition for the development of all" in Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels, *Works*, vol 4, Berlin, 1959, p. 482.
10. Subject treated in greater detail in Meier, Arthur, "Soziologie des Bildungswesens" [The Sociology of the Educational System], Berlin, 1974, especially pp 156ff and 291ff; Weidig, Rudi et al., "Sozialstruktur der DDR" [Social Structure of the GDR], Berlin, 1988, particularly Loetsch, Manfred and Arthur Meier, "Das Verhältnis zwischen körperlicher und geistiger Arbeit: Qualifikation und Bildung" [The Relationship Between Physical and Intellectual Labor: Qualifications and Education], p. 176ff.
11. "Soziale Triebkräfte ökonomischen Wachstums" [Social Forces of Economic Growth], Berlin, 1986.
12. Between 1949 and 1986, the number of inhabitants in the GDR declined from 18.73 million to 16.64 million (cf. *Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR*, Berlin, 1987, p. 1). During the same time period the total number of jobholders climbed from 7.31 million to 8.55 million and that of female jobholders from 2.89 million to 4.20 million. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
13. Loetsch, Ingrid, "Zur Entwicklung des Bildungs- und Qualifikationsniveaus in der DDR" [The Development of Educational and Qualification Levels in the GDR] in *Jahrbuch fuer Soziologie und Sozialpolitik* 1985, Berlin, 1985, p. 511ff.

14. "Direktive des XI. Parteitages der SED zum Fuenfjahrplan fuer die Entwicklung der Volkswirtschaft der DDR in den Jahren 1986 bis 1990" [Directive of the 11th Party Congress of the SED on the 5-Year Plan for the Development of the Economy of the GDR Between 1986 and 1990], Berlin, 1986.

15. Subject treated in greater detail in Grundmann, Siegfried, Manfred Loetsch and Rudi Weidig, "Zur Entwicklung der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Struktur" [The Development of the Working Class and Its Structure], Berlin, 1976; Krambach, Kurt et al., "Genossenschaftsbauern—gestern, heute, morgen" [Farming Cooperatives—Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow], Berlin, 1977.

16. Nick, Harry et al., "Oekonomische und soziale Wirksamkeit des wissenschaftlich-technischen Fortschritts" [The Economic and Social Impact of Progress in Science and Technology], Berlin, 1986, p. 52.

17. International authors collective, "Das Kaderpotential der Wissenschaft im Sozialismus" [The Manpower Potential of Science Under Socialism], Berlin, 1982, p. 168.

18. Ibid., p. 170.

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